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## ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ISSUES

### THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

America is still a long way from achieving and maintaining full employment, after nearly 5 years of economic expansion. Even the impressive progress of the past 2 years still leaves reported unemployment of 3.2 million people or 4.2 percent of the labor force. With close to 2 million additional people compelled to work part-time and about 1 million or more not seeking work because there are no available jobs in their communities, the combination of unemployment and under-employment is resulting in the loss of approximately 7 percent or more of potential work time.

Despite substantial improvements in national economic policy and performance in recent years, the social and economic problems that developed and festered during most of the 1950s remain unsolved. This is clearly no time for dangerous measures to increase the cost of borrowing and restrain the pace of economic growth, such as the Federal Reserve Board's increase of the discount rate to 4½ percent, the highest level in a generation. Nor is it time for self-satisfied complacency.

Radical changes in technology, accompanied by rapid urban growth and changes in race relations, are continuing to pull and tug at the fabric of American society. And about 20 percent to 25 percent of the population live in poverty or close to its edge in the richest and most productive nation in the world. Moreover, the teenage unemployment rate, even now, is 12½ percent and over 8 percent of Negroes in the labor force are jobless.

There is yet a long road ahead before America can achieve and sustain job opportunities, at decent wages, for all people who are willing and able to work.

The special boost to economic activities from the two-stage tax cut had almost completely worn off by the middle of 1965. But the increase of social security benefits, retroactive to the first of the year, is providing a lift to consumer buying power and spending. Adoption of the excise tax reduction in June is restoring a very small part of the declining stimulus of the general tax cut—to the degree that its benefits are passed on to consumers. And other legislative achievements of the past 2 years—such as the anti-poverty program, federal aid for elementary and secondary schools and public works for distressed areas—are also adding to the level of economic activities.

However, the American economy's ability to produce is expanding very rapidly. Soaring business profits for the fourth A substantial step-up of public investment is required to rebuild our cities and meet the growing needs for schools, health-care consecutive year—accompanied by rising sales and government

policies that encourage business outlays for new plant and equipment—are resulting in a sharp boost of capital investment. Between 1963 and 1965, business investment in new plants and machines rose 32 percent and is expected to increase at a yearly rate of  $13\frac{1}{2}$  percent at least through the middle of next year. The installation of these most modern, labor-saving plants and machines are expanding industry's capacity to produce by approximately 5½ percent, this year, and an expected 7 percent in 1966.

Automation is continuing to spread—boosting productive efficiency at a rapid pace, reducing manpower requirements and making many old skills obsolete.

In addition, the labor force is now growing about 50 percent faster than in the past 10 years—with an increasing influx of young people into the job markets. The labor force is expected to grow about 1½ million a year, in the period ahead, in contrast to a rise of less than 1 million per year in the past decade.

Current levels of unemployment and existing productive capacity plus the economy's rapidly growing ability to produce permit ample room for very substantial increases of demand, without the danger of inflationary shortages. Indeed, a rapid and continuing increase of sales and production is needed to reduce unemployment, in the face of growing productive capacity, rapidly rising productivity and accelerated growth of the labor force. A slower rise, during the course of the next year or two, would result in a renewed increase of unemployment and a build-up of idle productive capacity.

The sustained growth of the American economy to achieve and maintain full employment in the period ahead, however, requires further improvements in national economic policy. The improved policies of recent years have not corrected the basic lack of balance between the economy's rapidly rising ability to produce and the lagging increase of consumer buying power. From 1956 to 1964, real compensation per hour of all employees in the private economy rose approximately 2.3 percent a year—lagging behind the 3.3 percent annual increase in the private economy's output per manhour. The lag continues in 1965. If the buying power of wages and salaries fails to advance, along with the economy's increasing productive efficiency, it will be difficult to reach full employment and impossible to sustain it over any period of time.

Moreover, it is urgent that America begin to devote more attention and much more resources to meeting the needs of a rapidly growing and increasingly urban population for expanded and improved housing, community facilities and public services. facilities, mass transit systems, recreational and cultural facilities. Increased public investments in such activities can create jobs in a wide variety of skills and they can strengthen the entire fabric of our increasingly urban society.

America has the resources and know-how to adjust to the radical changes that are sweeping through our social order. But such adjustments will not be achieved automatically. Positive and bold policies are needed—by private groups, states and local communities, as well as by the federal government. Therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** 1. We urge the federal government to develop, as soon as possible, a comprehensive and coordinated national inventory of needs for housing, community facilities and public services. A detailed inventory of present backlog and growing needs should be prepared by each state and metropolitan area, as well as a coordinated national inventory, developed by the federal government. On the basis of such inventory of needs, the federal government should provide plans and programs to meet specified requirements, within specific periods of time—through financial and technical grants-in-aid to the states and cities and guaranteed loans, as well as through direct loans and direct federal efforts. The timing to reach established targets for meeting the various categories of needs should be speeded up or slowed down, depending on changes in national defense requirements and the availability of manpower and productive capacity. A massive, coordinated national effort to meet these needs is long overdue. To maximize the effectiveness of these urgently required expenditures for achieving full employment such outlays must be coordinated with other economic policies and programs through a national planning agency.

2. Federal tax, expenditure and monetary policies are required to encourage sufficient economic growth for sustained full employment. But they cannot achieve and maintain job opportunities for all who are willing and able to work, unless the economy's consumer base grows rapidly. The lag of real earnings behind productivity must be ended. A faster rise of wages and fringe benefits is needed to broaden and strengthen the mass markets that are the foundation of an economy whose ability to produce more goods and services, more efficiently, is growing rapidly.

3. The Fair Labor Standards Act should be amended to provide federal protection to the millions of low-wage workers who are not now covered by the law. The federal minimum wage should be increased to \$2 an hour.

4. The unemployment insurance system should be permanently improved by additional federal standards to extend the duration and raise the level of benefits to unemployed workers.

5. The next general reduction of federal income taxes should be based essentially on tax cuts for low and moderate-income families. Moreover, the continued collection of federal income taxes from persons whom the federal government, itself, defines as poor, should be ended at the earliest opportunity.

6. The nation's monetary policy should encourage, rather than retard, enough economic growth to achieve and maintain full employment. America needs an ample and growing money supply and relatively low interest rates. Membership on the Board of Governors and on the other governing and advisory boards of the Federal Reserve system should be opened up to people from all major sectors of American society, including organized labor.

7. A national manpower policy is essential to assist workers and communities to adjust to the disruptive effects of rapidly changing technology—as a supplement to policies to sustain full employment. Central to such a national manpower policy is the need for an effective nation-wide U. S. Employment Service, as well as genuine, public and private training programs to upgrade the skills of the work-force, effective measures to rehabilitate the economic health of chronically distressed communities, adequate systems of vocational and general education and federal relocation allowances to assist unemployed workers who wish to move to areas of job opportunities.

8. We call upon the federal government to establish a technological clearing house to gather information on a continuing basis on technological changes and its effects on the welfare of the American people, as a basis for public and private programs of adjustments to the disruptive impact of spreading automation. We also urge the government to provide unions and employers with a comprehensive information and assistance service that could provide helpful guidance, upon request, in developing labor-management solutions for the complex problems that are related to the impact of automation at the work-place.

9. We seek full employment, with a full-employment workweek and reaffirm our goal of a 35-hour standard workweek. A reduction of standard working hours, without any cut of weekly earnings, is needed to spread job opportunities in this period of rapidly advancing productivity and accelerated growth of the labor force. Such cut of working hours would be a continuation of the American tradition of reducing working hours, as productivity advances. In addition, we urge the adoption of double-time payments for overtime work, to discourage employers from scheduling unnecessary overtime and to encourage the hiring of additional workers.

10. Discriminatory employment practices that limit the job opportunities of Negroes and other minorities should be ended by effective enforcement of federal law.

11. To curb the potential danger from the pricing policies of the major corporations in key administered-price industries, the spotlight of public attention is needed. Only the federal government—federal agencies, congressional committees or both—can adequately focus public attention on the facts of the cost-price-

profit-investment policies of these corporations, in an attempt to curtail administered-price abuses.

12. Measures to solve America's balance-of-payments difficulty should be taken within the context of policies to reach and sustain full employment. The government should be provided with a variety of direct and indirect tools to effectively restrict the outflow of private capital from the United States, whenever necessary. We urge the government to continue to take a strong and positive lead in working for the development of a new international monetary mechanism, which can provide the basis for the long-run solution of the balance-of-payments difficulties of the United States and other nations.

## **PUBLIC INVESTMENT TO MEET AMERICA'S NEEDS**

America's unmet needs for housing, community facilities and public services are gigantic and increasing.

These needs have expanded along with population growth of 2½ million or more a year. Moreover, they have multiplied at an even faster pace, as more and more Americans crowd into metropolitan areas and as increasing numbers of our people are among the very young and the elderly.

Between 1930 and 1945, the population grew from 123 million to 140 million—with little expansion of housing, community facilities and public services during the fifteen years of depression and war. By 1965, the population grew to 195 million and there was a great migration from rural areas to the cities. About 70 percent of all Americans already live in metropolitan areas, many of which spread across city, county and even state boundaries. Twenty years from now, about 80 percent of a population of 250 million is expected to live in the nation's metropolitan areas.

Since the end of World War II, America has attempted to meet these needs through piecemeal, unplanned and insufficient efforts. Despite record outlays since 1945, continuing shortages of housing, community facilities and public services persist.

In housing, elementary and secondary school classrooms, higher education, education and health-care facilities, there are continuing shortages. Air and water pollution plague our metropolitan areas. Water shortages are becoming commonplace. Transit systems are woefully inadequate, and there are shortages of recreational and cultural facilities.

These and similar needs multiply with a growing and increasingly urban population. Moreover, the states and local governments have been incapable of mobilizing the necessary initiative

and funds to meet these needs on their own. Only federal leadership, coordination and funds can spark the necessary programs on a continuing and sound basis.

A vast and planned national effort, under federal leadership, is needed to apply as much of our resources as possible to meet these needs, within a reasonable period of years. Such effort should be based on a national inventory of needs in the various categories—such as, how many elementary and secondary school classrooms are required now and will be needed in the next ten to twenty years. Progress towards meeting specific objectives in each category, therefore, would depend on the availability of resources and the political decisions of federal, state and local governments, within the framework of the best available estimates of needs.

The construction of the required facilities and provision of expanded public services would provide employment for large numbers of workers at many different kinds of jobs and skills—in the production and distribution of building materials, in construction and in the expanded services. Therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** The AFL-CIO urges the federal government to develop, coordinate and maintain a national inventory of needs for housing, community facilities and public services, based on present backlog and future population growth. Each state and metropolitan area should be encouraged to develop an inventory of needs within its geographical jurisdiction, in addition to the development of a coordinated national inventory prepared by the federal government.

Such comprehensive inventory of needs should provide the foundation for nation-wide programs in each category—based on federal financial and technical assistance to the state and local governments, including federal grants-in-aid and guaranteed loans, as well as direct federal efforts. Target dates should be established for achieving specified objectives and the pace should be speeded up or slowed down, depending upon changes in defense requirements and the availability of manpower and productive capacity. We urge the federal government, the states and metropolitan government authorities to develop such inventories of needs in housing, community facilities and public services as soon as possible and to move ahead rapidly, with sufficient funds and resources, to meet the requirements of a rapidly growing, urban population.

## WINNING THE WAR ON POVERTY

When President Johnson gave his pledge to lead the nation in an "unconditional war, here and now, on poverty," the AFL-CIO Executive Council pledged him labor's unconditional support. This is a war the American labor movement has been striving to

win—through trade union organization, collective bargaining, and legislative action—since its inception more than a century ago. Banishing poverty is labor's historic goal.

The tragic fact that millions of Americans still go without the necessities of life, while the majority enjoys the highest standard of living in the world, is a national scandal.

According to the poverty yardstick used by the President, about 35 million Americans—those living in families with incomes under \$3,000 or living alone on less than \$1,500—were found to be impoverished in 1963. Another count, by the Social Security Administration, found one-fourth of the population—"a total of 50 million persons—of whom 22 million were young children—who live within the bleak circle of poverty or at least hover around its edge."

Progress in reducing the numbers of those in want has been slight in recent years. From the mid-1930's to the mid-1950's, the escape from poverty was rapid under the impetus of New Deal legislation, trade union growth, and the high level of wartime and early post-war employment. After the mid-1950's, however, rising unemployment and lagging economic growth, and the failure of the social security system to keep pace with modern needs brought progress almost to a halt. Hopefully, new measures already enacted during the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations—and others still to become law—give promise that the anti-poverty war will be vigorously waged.

That battles must be fought on many fronts becomes clearly evident when the causes of poverty are frankly faced.

For the poor, the road out of poverty essentially must be based on:

1. Job opportunities, at decent wages, for the millions of impoverished who are willing and able to work, and
2. Adequate income-maintenance—through such measures as improved unemployment compensation, social security and welfare benefits and coverage—to help additional impoverished millions who are not self-sustaining due to the absence of a family breadwinner, old age, disability, or other causes.

Beginning in 1961, many important measures have been enacted by the Congress that are part of the war on want.

New federal programs to advance manpower training and vocational and general education will help millions of Americans to upgrade their skills and meet the needs of an increasingly complex society.

The Civil Rights Act—and its forceful implementation—hold

promise of opening new opportunities for members of minority groups, long blocked by prejudice from escape from poverty.

Measures to help areas of chronic distress—in Appalachia and elsewhere—hopefully will aid millions of stranded people in depressed communities.

Additional measures, adopted since 1961, have succeeded in reducing unemployment, although there is still a long way to go before full employment is achieved and maintained.

The Economic Opportunity Act, with its many projects tailored to increase skills and provide counseling for the poor—and, particularly, its emphasis on youth—is a vital part of the war on want. Through its Operation Head Start, Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Work Study, Community Action, VISTA and other pioneer programs, this Act has launched an heroic effort to help break the poverty cycle.

Since the passage of the act hardly a year ago, the AFL-CIO has been represented on its National and Labor Advisory Councils and on planning and operating committees in communities across the country. We seek also to assure representation of minority groups and of the poor, themselves, on these committees, because they can contribute much to help shape realistic and rewarding undertakings.

The new legislative measures enacted since 1961, however, must be meshed with others still to be enacted, if the war on poverty is to succeed. It should be evident that enough jobs at decent pay and adequate incomes for families without a breadwinner must be achieved, if the high hopes generated by the anti-poverty crusade are not to end in frustration.

Government studies reveal that over half of the nation's impoverished families are headed by a person who is a member of the labor force—employed full-time, under-employed or jobless. In 25 percent of all poor families the breadwinners actually work year-round, for fifty weeks or more. These, indeed, are the working poor—impoverished by low wages. Even if they receive the federal \$1.25-per-hour minimum wage—and many do not—their earnings for a 52-week year would total only \$2,600, a poverty-enforcing wage. In addition, in more than 25 percent of the families of the poor, the breadwinner is able and willing to work but is the victim of under-employment or is unemployed.

More than one-half of the poverty problem, therefore, is clearly related to the lack of enough jobs, at decent pay, and the lack of adequate unemployment compensation benefits and coverage to maintain a family in decency. In a work-oriented society, the key to solving most of the poverty problem is enough job opportunities,

at decent wages, for all people who are willing and able to work.

Nearly half of the remaining families of the poor are headed by persons who are not in the labor force. They include the aged who make up about 20 percent of the poor, and families in which husbands and fathers have died, are disabled or are absent,—a group that accounts for nearly 30 percent of the poor.

No war against want can succeed without adequate income protection for these millions who cannot be self-supporting even under conditions of full employment. It was precisely to meet minimum income-maintenance needs—to keep people above impoverishment—that a nationwide social security system to protect Americans against the worst hazards of modern life was conceived thirty years ago.

Although the recent enactment of medicare and increase in social security benefits were important advances in the war against want, they must be viewed as only a beginning. The current average social security benefit of about \$140 a month for an aged couple, \$84 for a retired worker and \$73 for a widow, freezes millions into permanent poverty status. The average weekly unemployment compensation benefit of barely \$37—for an average duration of only 26 weeks—does not eradicate poverty; it perpetuates it.

If the war on poverty—on all its fronts—is successfully pursued, it will do more for America's Negroes than for the population as a whole, since some 20 percent of all the impoverished are Negroes, although they account for only 10 percent of the nation's population. Only by taking the steps necessary to eradicate poverty will the nation create conditions that can make possible an early end to the ugly fact of discrimination in American life. Therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** The AFL-CIO applauds President Lyndon Johnson for his leadership in a renewed war on want. With forthrightness and courage he has forced millions of more affluent Americans to face up to the tragic facts that about one-fifth of our fellow citizens in this most productive and wealthy nation still are impoverished. Most important, he has challenged Americans to end this ugly blight, and to do it quickly.

If want is to be eradicated, the battle must be waged on every front.

Legislation already enacted during the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations—or now before the Congress—points the way. Measures to accelerate vocational and general education, to aid the jobless in areas of chronic distress, to eradicate discrimination, to end substandard housing and neighborhoods, and the enactment of medicare and other efforts to raise health standards—

all of this AFL-CIO-supported general legislation is essential to the achievement of a Great Society and an opportunity for the poor to share in it.

Passage of the Economic Opportunity Act—with its emphasis on special projects to aid the poor and, particularly, to provide education, skills and counseling for young people—has launched a vital effort to keep poverty from breeding upon itself.

The AFL-CIO recognizes that the introduction of new people and new ideas into the planning and administration of the pioneer projects initiated under this act inevitably has aroused controversy among people of good will, as well as unjustified criticism from those who opposed these programs from the start. American trade unionists not only want these efforts to succeed; we are pledged to make our contribution to help assure their success.

All AFL-CIO affiliates are strongly urged to continue and to increase their participation in the planning and operation of these anti-poverty projects, not only in Washington, but in every community in which our members work and live.

The AFL-CIO hails the joining of men and women of good will from the churches and from civil rights, civic, labor, business, education, farm, cooperative and other groups who have formed the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty. We pledge our fullest cooperation and urge all affiliates of the AFL-CIO to support this citizens crusade as an essential part of the total effort to win the war to abolish poverty.

The local resources of the AFL-CIO—its leaders and its union halls—should be fully utilized in the anti-poverty programs.

We urge that union members who seek to make a special contribution consider enlisting in the Volunteers in Service to America. To facilitate this objective, we urge the inclusion of appropriate leaves-of-absence provisions in collective bargaining agreements.

The AFL-CIO insists that not only representatives of organized labor, but of minority groups and of the poor, themselves, participate in the planning and operation of Community Action Programs. We further insist that all work projects pay the federal minimum wage and that they not jeopardize the work opportunities or standards of workers elsewhere.

We shall continue to observe with particular interest, the policies pursued in the operation of the Job Corps Centers, especially as such policies apply to training programs and their effect on established apprenticeship training standards.

All the legislation enacted to aid the impoverished so far—important as it is—will have little meaning, if we fail to assure job opportunities, at decent wages, for all persons who are willing and able to work. To this end, we must:

Enact a federal minimum wage of \$2 per hour as soon as possible and vastly broaden its coverage.

Establish a shorter statutory work-week.

Launch a vastly expanded public works effort to create jobs and provide the urgently needed public facilities and services, many of which will directly benefit the poor.

These measures, long urged by the AFL-CIO, are essential underpinnings of the war on want. They must be enacted if the high hopes this war has generated are not to be frustrated.

What is more, to aid additional millions of the poor who are in families without any breadwinner, the American social security system must be made worthy of this great and wealthy nation.

Benefits and coverage under the federal social security system—for retirees, for the disabled and for survivors—must be improved.

State social insurance and welfare programs must be brought up-to-date.

Adequate federal standards to upgrade the lagging unemployment and workmen's compensation systems of most of the fifty states also are critically needed.

Income insurance for families of breadwinners separated from payrolls by illness—now limited to four states and the railroads—must be improved and extended nationally.

What is more, as part of an all-out anti-poverty crusade, far more must be done to improve the housing of the poor, to reshape federal farm programs so that the benefits are enjoyed by those most in need, and to refashion tax policies—federal, state and local—so that burdens now imposed on those who are most impoverished will be reduced. It is a sad commentary that, each year, the federal government is still collecting \$100 million in income taxes, and the states and localities over \$650 million in sales and property taxes, from their impoverished citizens.

Finally, the labor movement must continue to vigorously pursue its special and historic role in waging war on want—its effort to organize the unorganized so that they, too, can enjoy the benefits that result from collective bargaining.

Almost a third of a century has passed since Franklin D. Roosevelt declared:

"The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little."

The challenge we face in the mid-1960's is not the discovery of what needs to be done to eradicate human want. The real challenge is whether Americans now have the will to resume the war on poverty and win it.

## URBAN AMERICA

The major domestic issues facing America are increasingly urban problems. The population is growing by about 2.5 million or more per year. And each year, hundreds of thousands of people move off the farms and out of the rural areas, seeking homes and jobs in the cities.

From a largely rural country of fewer than 36 million people less than 100 years ago, America is now a nation of 194.5 million. In the past 20 years since the end of World War II, the population grew by 55 million.

Approximately 70 percent of all Americans now live in 212 metropolitan areas that occupy less than 10 percent of the surface of the country. By 1985, only twenty years from now, the population is expected to reach 250 million, and about 80 percent will live in metropolitan areas.

The rapid growth of our increasingly urban population has been developing great pressures on available facilities. The cities have exploded into unplanned metropolitan areas with water shortages, air and water pollution and inadequate mass transit, as well as shortages of schools, health-care facilities, recreational areas and cultural facilities.

The central cities have increasingly become slum ghettos and decaying areas with concentrated populations of the poor, the elderly and minority groups. At the same time, the spread of sprawling suburbs and highways is gobbling up millions of acres, with little, if any, planning for metropolitan area-wide needs.

Close to 15 million dwelling units—most of them in urban areas—are still substandard. With an annual residential construction rate of only 1.5 million units a year—including the annual construction of merely some 30,000 low-cost public housing units—it is clear that the nation's housing needs are not being met. Moreover, the continuing rapid growth of our urban population in the next twenty years will require millions of new housing units, supplemented by improved and expanded community facilities and public services.

These urban problems are much too immense and too complex for local governments to handle on their own. Moreover, the

explosion of our metropolitan areas and many of the accompanying urban problems have crossed the boundary lines of cities, counties and states.

Only a massive national effort can meet these urgent and growing needs to rebuild our metropolitan areas with adequate housing, community facilities and public services for a rapidly growing population. Such effort requires decisive federal government leadership, coordination, direct grants and low-interest loans—with the cooperation of state and local governments and private enterprise.

To accomplish such a huge task, metropolitan area planning is essential together with the creation of local development mechanisms that are capable of effectively utilizing federal assistance on a continuing and soundly financed basis; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** The AFL-CIO urges the federal government to undertake a massive effort to rebuild our cities.

We congratulate the Congress for enacting legislation to establish the new cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development. We urge the Congress and the President to provide sufficient funds and adequate staff for this agency—to enable it to establish the basis for a new and productive relationship between the federal government and America's rapidly growing cities.

In the face of the present backlog and increasing needs of a growing population for adequate housing, the volume of residential construction should be raised to at least 2.5 million dwelling units a year.

In order to assure a balanced supply of housing—responsive to the needs of economically disadvantaged families—federal, state and local programs should include consultation with and active representation of trade unions, genuine co-operatives and minority groups.

### Housing for Low-Income Families:

We reaffirm our support of a step-up of low-rent public housing construction as a vital means for meeting the housing needs of low-income families. Such construction should be increased to a yearly rate of at least 125,000 dwelling units for the next three years.

The Public Housing Administration should be authorized to make capital grants for writing down land costs for low-rent developments that are not in renewal areas, to the same extent as is done for projects within renewal areas.

We also urge authorization for the sale of low-rent public housing developments or parts of such developments to tenant

### **Community Facilities:**

The 1965 law provided a total of \$800,000,000 of assistance over a four year period for the installation of public water and sewer facilities. This authorization was inadequate for these purposes. There is a need, moreover, for grants for many types of public facilities and public works. This includes the community facilities required for the conduct of programs involving services and assistance in the war against poverty.

We, therefore, recommend an authorization of two billion dollars annually for a three year period for public facility grants to local governments.

Because of the importance of the renewal of central cities as the essential core of metropolitan areas, federal grants should be allowed to cover 75 percent of the cost of essential community facilities, instead of two-thirds of the cost, as at present.

### **Metropolitan and Regional Planning:**

Cities and towns are the places of residence, the workshops and the cultural centers of the nation.

Coordinated programs of urban planning and urban development are essential for sound growth of our metropolitan areas. Sound metropolitan area planning will be enhanced by expanding federal financial assistance to our cities for community facilities, acquisition of land reserves, and for up-to-date mass transit systems.

A satisfactory housing and urban development program must include the necessary aid in providing community facilities, open space and community sites, and assuring soundly planned mass transit facilities, to be operated under proper labor standards.

Metropolitan area planning should be fitted into a framework of regional plans designed to meet the problems of future growth.

### **Equal Housing Opportunity:**

A key feature of labor's housing program is its drive for equal housing opportunity for all Americans. There is no place in America for racial ghettos. Equal access, without regard to race, creed, color or national origin, to every residential neighborhood in every American community should be assured for every family in America. Equal opportunity in housing should be assured in all programs in which housing is provided with federal aid or is protected by federal insurance of mortgages or guarantee or regulation of mortgage loans.

We ask that the President's Executive Order on Equal Opportunity in Housing be strengthened and its coverage extended to cover not only FHA and VA insured mortgages but also mortgage

activities of all federally-assisted or federally-insured banks and savings and loan institutions. We pledge our fullest cooperation with the work of the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing.

We again call for the enactment and forceful administration of state and local laws to outlaw all discrimination in housing on account of race, creed, color or national origin.

### **Labor Standards:**

The Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965 extended the requirement of compliance with prevailing wage rates and labor standards called for by the Davis-Bacon Act to new areas not previously covered. These requirements should apply to all employees engaged in construction in any program involving federal financial assistance or federal mortgage insurance.

### **National Housing Conference:**

For over thirty years, the National Housing Conference has been a leading force in the drive for better housing and better urban living for American families. A broadly-based spokesman for the public interest, the National Housing Conference has cooperated with organized labor in working toward this common goal. The National Housing Conference therefore merits the continued support of the AFL-CIO and its affiliates.

### **Labor Housing Committees:**

Labor's goal of good homes in modern well-planned communities for all Americans can only be achieved with the vigorous support and cooperation of all of organized labor. Our housing efforts will be particularly enhanced by the establishment by affiliated unions and central bodies of effective housing committees to develop and support forward-looking housing programs in local communities and across the nation. We call for prompt establishment of such committees to work closely with the appropriate agencies of local, state and federal governments and to back the Housing Committee of the AFL-CIO in its efforts to achieve the housing objectives of the trade union movement.

## **FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT**

A key omission in the record of the first session of the 89th Congress is its failure to modernize this country's Fair Labor Standards Act. Although both the House and the Senate heard extensive testimony on the need to improve the Fair Labor Standards Act, and the House Education and Labor Committee reported out a bill, H.R. 10518, it was not considered on either the House or Senate floor during 1965.

Improvement of the Fair Labor Standards Act is the single most potent weapon in the war against poverty. Half of all poor families have employed family members, but their earnings are still not enough to permit escape from the clutches of poverty. Properly used, the Fair Labor Standards Act can be the most effective instrument for assuring adequate wages for the working poor. It is not yet being used to meet this goal, and is urgently in need of modernization.

Today, some 17½ million non-supervisory wage and salary workers in private industry are excluded from coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act. The need for protecting these workers, many of whom are exploited by low wages and long hours, was exemplified in lengthy testimony before the 89th Congress and previous Congresses. Major groups of these low-paid workers are employed in hotels, restaurants, laundries, dry cleaning establishments, hospitals, "small" logging operations, retail enterprises and construction establishments. Farm workers are a particularly low-paid and exploited group that is not protected by the act. Others are denied full protection of the act, because of unreasonable exemptions written into the law.

The current minimum wage of \$1.25 an hour is clearly inadequate. At this wage, even the full-time, year-round worker, cannot earn the Administration's poverty level income of \$3,000 per year. Even a \$2.00 an hour minimum wage would still provide far less than the over \$6,000 annual income required to maintain a family of four at a "modest but adequate" standard of living.

Rapidly rising productivity and high business profits indicate that the economy can easily adjust to the extension of FLSA coverage and a substantial increase in the minimum wage. Such steps are absolutely necessary in order to raise the living standards of the working poor.

The current overtime penalty of time and a half no longer serves the purpose for which it was intended—to discourage employers from scheduling overtime work. The deterrent to overtime work provided by the act, has been eroded by increases in expenditures for fringe benefits which are excluded from the penalty pay requirements. Today, fringe benefits represent about 20 percent of hourly wages, compared to 5 percent in 1938, according to the testimony of Secretary of Labor Wirtz. Last year, about 62½ million overtime hours per week were worked, or the equivalent of approximately 1½ million full-time jobs.

The same modernization is required in the law as it applies to Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands and American Samoa. The Fair Labor Standards Act as it applies to those areas should provide without exception for an automatic increase in existing federal minimum wages equivalent to the increase on the mainland.

In order to make the provisions of the law meaningful, the Fair Labor Standards Act must be enforced effectively, by regular investigation of employers' records and prompt prosecution of violators.

In fiscal 1965, over 11,000 minors were illegally employed and 960 violations of the equal pay act were reported; moreover, 406,000 workers were underpaid 75 million dollars, according to the Labor Department's findings. This is more than double the rate of five years ago. However, only one-third of the underpaid wages were recovered in behalf of the workers. Recovery of unpaid wages was hampered by the two-year statute of limitations. This cheating of the poorest workers must be halted. Chiseling on minimum wages and overtime premiums must be stopped.

Passage of an expanded and improved federal minimum wage law by the 89th Congress of the United States would mean an immediate improvement in the earnings and living standards of families living in poverty and would, through increased consumer expenditures, contribute to the health of the economy. Therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** That the AFL-CIO calls on the Congress, as one of the first orders of business when it convenes in January 1966, to strengthen and improve the Fair Labor Standards Act by

1. Increasing the minimum wage to \$2.00 an hour.
2. Extending the full protection of the Act to all workers engaged in or affecting interstate commerce.
3. Providing for the payment of double-time for overtime.
4. Providing for equivalent statutory increases in existing federal minimum wage rates in Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands and American Samoa, with no exceptions for individuals or groups of employers.
5. Improving the enforcement of the Fair Labor Standards Act. This requires the authorization of sufficient funds and staff, the prosecution of violators to recover lawfully due wages, and the extension of the statute of limitations in order to permit more effective recovery of wages.

## **REDUCTION IN WORKING HOURS**

Unemployment is still a major domestic problem. In spite of almost five years of uninterrupted economic expansion, the overall rate of unemployment is still higher than even the Administration's interim target established earlier in the decade

and jobless rates for non-whites and teenagers remain at depression levels.

As a result of the rapid productivity gains stemming from technological changes and the accelerated growth in the labor force, even the sizable increases in production of the past two years have failed to wipe out the legacy of excessive unemployment left by the economic stagnation of the 1950s. Government policies of the past two years have provided proof of the power of expansionary economic policies to create jobs. But they have not been enough to create jobs for all who want to work and they are not likely to be enough in the near future.

The task of achieving and maintaining full employment has become extremely formidable as a result of the rapid advance of productive efficiency and stepped-up growth of the labor force.

America needs more jobs and it needs them now. Unless something is done to reduce unemployment among Negroes and other minority groups more rapidly, the hopes created by progress on the civil rights front could well turn into alienation, bitterness and frustration. Unless something is done to provide jobs for the enormous number of young people entering the labor force in the coming period, the social dynamite of youth unemployment is also likely to have a disruptive impact upon American life. And unless alternative jobs, at decent pay, are provided for workers displaced by automation, an increasing number of workers will find themselves on the street.

Although the AFL-CIO will continue its effort for socially desirable job-creating fiscal and monetary policies, it is convinced that the nation must move more rapidly towards full employment along other paths, as well.

When faced with an unemployment crisis during the Great Depression, the federal government created more jobs by increasing its expenditures on goods and services and by establishing new transfer payment programs. However, it did not confine its efforts to expenditures and transfer payment programs alone. It recognized the urgency of the crisis by providing first for shorter workweeks under the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933 and then under the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938—to spread job opportunities. Such action was in keeping with the historical trend towards fewer hours of work in America. And it proved, as in the past, that the American standard of living could go up while hours of work went down.

Since the adoption of the Fair Labor Standards Act, the rate of reduction in average weekly hours of work has slowed perceptibly. Now, however, a major reduction in hours of work is necessary once more, to spread the number of job opportunities. Automation and other revolutionary changes in technology make

it possible to resume the more rapid march towards a shorter workweek and to increase production at the same time. Persistent unemployment, widespread poverty and rising social tensions make it imperative that we do so. And the realities of American economic and political life leave us no other practical alternative. Therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** 1. We call upon Congress to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act by providing for the rapid reduction of the standard workweek to 35 hours. Such reduction of the workweek should be accomplished without any reduction in weekly earnings.

2. We urge Congress to restore the effectiveness of the overtime provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act by providing for the payment of double time for overtime hours—to discourage employers from scheduling overtime work.

3. We urge Congress to examine in depth more effective means for the achievement and maintenance of full employment in the face of the acceleration of scientific and technological developments and to explore automatic and flexible adjustment of the basic statutory workweek without loss of pay as a method of maintaining full employment in the face of continuing technological change and fluctuations in demand.

4. We call upon Congress to initiate a full-scale study of the leisure-time needs of the American people. In view of the revolutionary changes wrought by automation and other technological innovations and the inevitable reduction in working time, opportunities for the constructive use of leisure can no longer be regarded as a matter of secondary importance. Government at all levels must become increasingly concerned with the provision of opportunities and facilities for the use of leisure time.

5. We urge unions to intensify their efforts to reduce hours of work through collective bargaining. Collective bargaining, as many unions have already amply demonstrated, can provide an extremely flexible method of reducing work time. Agreements in this area can take the form of shorter workweeks without loss of pay, more paid holidays, longer paid vacations, additional relief time and earlier retirement with more adequate benefits. Or they can adopt other forms like the sabbatical leaves which provide larger amounts of time off, the longer vacation or phased retirement for older workers, and the shorter workweek without loss of pay during off-seasons. To aid affiliates in this endeavor, we urge officers of the AFL-CIO to make as much staff assistance as possible available upon request.

## AUTOMATION

America is in the midst of a technological revolution. Though still in its infancy, this revolution is changing the nature of American society and imposing serious hardships on many workers.

Technological change has had a devastating impact upon workers in particular occupations and industries. The number of laborers in farming, coal mining, lumbering, railroading, warehousing, longshoring and other sectors has declined drastically in the postwar period. Even skilled and white-collar workers have felt the impact. The use of the basic oxygen furnace in the steel industry, for example, is displacing the highly-skilled first helper on the open-hearth furnace. And the introduction of computers and other automated equipment has eliminated operator and clerical jobs even in the growing telephone industry.

Job opportunities for production and maintenance workers in railroad transportation, bituminous coal mining, petroleum refining, lumber and wood products and textiles have dropped from 72 percent to 32 percent between 1947 and 1964. And further job displacement has occurred as a result of the movement of plants from one area to another—from large midwestern cities to rural areas in meatpacking, for example, and from the north to the south in textile.

Although some occupations, industries and regions have expanded employment, the reshuffling of job opportunities during the past decade has taken a tremendous toll. For one thing, the expanding areas of employment have not expanded enough. Automation and other changes in technology have pushed the productivity of the nation as a whole to new heights. At no time in the past has the efficiency of the average worker advanced as rapidly, for as long a time, as in the past World War II period. Unfortunately, however, production has not kept pace. Increases in output have not been enough to create jobs for both those displaced by the rapid rise in productivity and new entrants into the labor force. As a result, the number of jobseekers has grown faster than the number of jobs and the economy has never reached reasonably full employment since 1953.

Moreover, the loss of a job has frequently been a painful experience even for those fortunate enough to find other employment. For many, it has meant the loss of hard-won seniority and fringe-benefit rights, the need for retraining, the movement from familiar surroundings, the development of new relationships and, all too often, the acceptance of jobs at much-reduced wage levels.

Change is inevitable and the need to adapt to it is beyond question. However, the application of the new technology to the fullest

extent, as rapidly as possible, with a view only to higher profits is open to serious question. Radical technological change can do irreparable harm if its pace and character are determined by market forces alone. If it is to serve man—all men, workers as well as investors, and including the poor, the Negro, the unskilled, the semi-skilled and the young who have the least resources to adjust to it—technological change must be consciously directed towards human interests and human needs.

To guide technology along such a path and assure that the burden of adapting to it is shared by all, rather than borne by workers alone, a wide variety of private and public programs is necessary. Therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** 1. Enough jobs for all who want to work. The AFL-CIO calls upon the government to fulfill its obligation of providing adequate job opportunities for all who are willing and able to work. In our estimation, this is the single most effective and basic way of meeting the problems created by technological change.

Job-creating programs, through stepped-up efforts to meet the needs for such facilities as schools, housing, roads, transit and recreation deserve the highest priority. Besides satisfying social needs such increased efforts can provide jobs for millions of workers, who might otherwise become displaced, surplus manpower.

Beyond this, we believe that the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the Job Corps, the Work-Study program and similar efforts should be expanded to provide socially useful job opportunities for the jobless, particularly school-age youth.

2. Matching workers and jobs. We call upon governments at all levels to increase their efforts to assist workers in finding jobs, in acquiring skills and in moving from areas of labor surplus to areas of labor shortage. Crucially important to the success of such efforts is a truly national public employment service with expanded testing and counseling facilities and ample advance notice of mass layoffs. In addition, we strongly urge the expansion of training opportunities, an increase in training allowances; regional development programs with sufficient resources to provide assistance to distressed areas; and a program of relocation assistance to aid workers to move to areas of job opportunities and to locate adequate housing.

3. Increased leisure. We urge that a greater proportion of the fruits of automation be taken in the form of reduced working hours, both through legislative action and collective bargaining. We believe that a rapid reduction in the standard workweek is one part of the answer to the problem of unemployment and job-displacement which technological change poses with increasing urgency.

4. Collective bargaining. The AFL-CIO urges its affiliates to continue to take full advantage of collective bargaining to cushion the impact of technological change at the work-place, suited to the particular situations in the various industries throughout the country. Collective bargaining provisions, such as those that call for advance notice and consultation, the reduction of jobs by attrition, early retirement, the maintenance of income in the event of displacement or downgrading, the reduction of working hours, interplant transfer rights and retraining are making an enormous contribution to the protection of workers affected by technological change. In addition, labor-managements efforts should continue in the attempt to curb the fatigue, monotony and tensions that the new automated jobs may create. Provisions to cushion the adverse impact of technological change on workers should be a standard part of industry's calculation of the cost of introducing new technology.

5. Information for a changing world. We urge the federal government to establish a clearinghouse with ample resources for monitoring technological developments and making detailed forecasts of their impact upon the labor force, the location of industry, skill requirements, the demand for specific kinds of goods and services and other aspects of American life. Such advanced information would be extremely helpful in establishing training, area rehabilitation and other programs by government, employers and unions.

We also urge the government to establish a federal information and guidance service to help unions and employers on request, to adjust to automation through collective bargaining. Upon request, such a service could provide studies of key problem areas and detailed information about the great variety of adjustments to technological change.

The AFL-CIO is convinced that action in all of these areas is necessary now and that such action is becoming increasingly necessary, as the pace of technological change accelerates.

## MANPOWER POLICY

America's most pressing need in its effort to achieve an effective manpower policy is jobs. Programs to expand training activities and to improve employment services, although essential, are an inadequate substitute for job opportunities. Such programs help workers to adjust to changed needs and changed conditions but cannot, by themselves, lead to full employment. And it is full employment which is the primary requirement of national manpower policy.

So long as the nation continues to suffer high levels of unemployment, it cannot have a meaningful manpower policy. True,

it can have manpower programs, as indeed we have had during the past four years. But in the absence of full employment, these programs can make only a small contribution to the needs of the workers and the nation.

Full employment is the keystone of a national manpower policy by providing job opportunities for all persons who are willing and able to work. And full employment would provide the needed stimulus for employers to expand company and industry training programs—the traditional way in which manpower skills have been upgraded.

Nevertheless, except for the fact that they have been viewed by some observers as the sole or major answer to the nation's problem of joblessness, the developments in manpower programs over the last four years are encouraging. They provide substantial evidence that government policy makers have become increasingly concerned with the impact of automation and technological change on jobs, on people and on our communities. And although most of the programs are not on a scale that matches the magnitude of the problems—and although they do not represent a panacea—they represent moves in the right direction.

Through programs of federal financial aid to all levels of education, young people will have an improved chance to enter the job market better prepared for work in the modern world.

Through federal legislation to provide training and retraining, many of the unemployed and under-employed are now being given the opportunity to equip themselves for new and changing job requirements.

Through federal programs to aid depressed communities, efforts are being made to bring more jobs into areas where unemployment is excessively high. Moreover, experimental programs are in process to provide financial assistance to bring unemployed workers into areas of job opportunities.

As part of the war on poverty, jobs and training opportunities are being given to poor people, especially the young.

And, in an effort to upgrade the quality of the Federal-State Employment Service, increased funds have been made available to expand its services—to increase its counseling and placement activities and its assistance to all groups of workers and to all employers. Particularly noteworthy is the effort of the public employment service to strengthen its program for young people, through the creation of Youth Opportunity Centers.

Despite these new programs and expanded activities, all of which are sorely needed, the United States still lacks a broad national approach to what is essentially a national manpower problem. The tendency is still to view manpower problems, and

to operate manpower programs, primarily as local activities. This inevitably weakens the effectiveness of these programs and activities, as indeed has been the case in connection with two major manpower programs—the operation of the public employment service and the administration of the Manpower Development and Training Act.

The public employment service, which must provide the underpinning for all of our manpower activities, is not a national system. It is, in fact, 50 different state systems and, as presently structured, it inhibits efforts to establish an effective national approach, or even a regional approach, to manpower problems. As presently operated, the public employment service even fractures local job markets because its activities are patterned after the boundary lines of communities, rather than the realistic boundary lines of economic activities and job markets.

The result of this type of operation is to deny the fullest assistance possible to workers and employers alike. It can keep from the worker essential information about job opportunities that are available within commuting distance of his home, and it can keep from the employer the opportunity to make his choice from as wide a list as possible.

Moreover, the present orientation of the public employment service affects adversely the operations of training activities because it is the service which makes the basic decision of who is to train and for what. Too often that decision is based on conditions in a particular local community, without regard to manpower conditions that may exist in other communities, even within the same job market area. There is, for example, no real effort made to search out the unemployed workers in nearby areas who may already have the skill for which a training program is to be undertaken.

This has led to the development of training programs that should not have been undertaken, including some which have infringed on longstanding apprenticeship programs, adversely affecting the employment opportunities of workers already possessing the needed skills and endangering the standards of wages and working conditions built up by organized labor's efforts over the years.

In addition, we are mindful of the fact that the present operations of the Manpower Development and Training Act may be training unemployed workers for job opportunities that properly belong to those already on an employer's payroll. To whatever extent an unemployed worker may be trained for a job above the lowest skill grade in a plant, the training program may be depriving an incumbent employee in that lower skill grade—many of whom are nonwhite—from advancing.

As a consequence, while considerable progress has been made, in recent years, in the field of manpower programs, much more remains to be done—including, above all else, a recognition of the need for a substantial increase in the number of job opportunities to achieve and sustain full employment. Therefore, be it

**RESOLVED** : 1. We urge that the employment service be federalized. Only through a truly national employment agency can the employment service meet the needs of workers and employers in our modern economy which transcends local and state boundaries and is national in scope.

Until such time as federalization is accomplished, we urge the following steps be taken immediately to improve the capability and effectiveness of the public employment service in assisting workers find jobs and advance occupationally :

(a) Restructure and strengthen the public employment service so that its offices can penetrate more deeply into job market activities and operate as true manpower centers. Measures should be taken to assure that the public employment service will pattern its activities along the lines of economic activities and not be hemmed in by community boundary lines, and will utilize the most up-to-date electronic data processing equipment.

(b) As a major step in improving the quality of the service, and upgrading the entire system, we urge that steps be taken to induce the states to raise the salaries of personnel engaged in employment service activities. By and large, the present salaries are not adequate to attract, and keep, the well-qualified people who are essential to assure that the very important tasks assigned to the employment services will be carried out effectively.

(c) Encourage all employers to list job vacancies with the public employment service so that the service can function more effectively. We urge the President to issue an executive order requiring all government contractors, although free to hire from any source, to list all of their job vacancies with the public employment service, providing, however, where union hiring halls or other union-management arrangements are in operation, these shall be acceptable in lieu of listing with the public employment service.

(d) The U. S. Employment Service should exercise its authority to set standards for all the 50 state employment systems and should be given effective enforcement tools to assure that performance will meet those standards.

(e) We urge that more federal funds be made available, including funds from general revenues, to provide more financial assistance to the public employment service to enable it to expand and

improve its services to more workers and employes in line with these recommendations.

2. We urge the Manpower Administrator, who is responsible for the operation of the manpower programs of the Department of Labor, to administer the activities under the MDTA as a national program, rather than as a series of individual local community programs. Only in this way will the retraining program be able to avoid the pitfalls of training workers for occupations in which there are already unemployed workers, frequently in communities adjacent to those in which training programs are being developed for the occupation.

3. We urge that all federally-supported training activities, regardless of the agency responsible for administration, be coordinated through the Manpower Administration in the Department of Labor. With the proliferation of programs that has been developing, there is danger of duplication and overlap. Moreover, agencies without expertise in all phases of the job market are not in a position to identify skill needs adequately and to be reasonably sure of successful placement of the trainees.

4. We urge the Manpower Administrator to give special attention to the inequities that result from the failure of MDTA programs to place priority on upgrading workers already on an employer's payroll. To this end, we urge expansion of on-the-job training activities for incumbent employees.

5. We urge that the Manpower Administrator examine the extent to which local and state advisory committees, required under MDTA, are being effectively utilized. We believe that the proper use of the expert advice represented on these committees can be an invaluable tool for the program administrators. And we also urge the Manpower Administrator to refuse approval of funds for projects, where advisory committees do not exist or where they are not truly representative of all groups, including organized labor.

6. We urge the enactment of legislation which will effectively curtail discrimination on account of age. While a number of programs have been developed to meet the needs of youth, and to eliminate discrimination based on color, sex, and national origin, little has been done to provide protection to older workers. This is a waste of human resources which should not be tolerated in any society seeking full employment and a rational manpower policy.

## YOUTH EMPLOYMENT

The excessively high rate of unemployment among America's young workers demands immediate attention. Without jobs

many of them can be expected to rebel against a society which fails to give them a decent chance to participate. And in a job-oriented society such as ours, it is jobs—and the income they provide—that are the key to participation.

No single program alone will provide the answer to the problem of providing enough jobs for a rapidly growing number of young entrants into the labor force. It requires, instead, a set of programs, together with a policy of full employment for the entire economy. For example, the ability of our economy during the past year to absorb into the labor force a record-breaking number of new young workers was no accident. It was the result of programs aimed directly at helping young workers, together with an expansionary policy to boost employment generally.

As a result of the increased demand for workers in the past year, young people, as well as adults, were able to find jobs. This kept the unemployment rate for young workers from rising higher, although it has remained at unacceptably high levels.

In addition to this improved economic climate, there were government programs which (1) directly created job opportunities for young people, and (2) improved the services available to young people in the job market.

High among these programs is the War on Poverty which, through the Neighborhood Youth Corps, has placed tens of thousands of young people into public service-type jobs, and which, through the Job Corps, has given many thousands more the opportunity to receive training and work-experience either at training centers or at camps.

Second, the Manpower Development and Training Act was amended last year, and one of the most significant amendments was a provision to expand considerably the funds available for youth training programs.

Third, the public employment service has established Youth Opportunity Centers in almost all of the major cities. Through these Centers young people are being referred to jobs in the private sector, to opportunities in the Neighborhood Youth Corps, and to the Job Corps for training or conservation activities. In addition, the Centers have increased the opportunity for young people to receive counseling and guidance. Moreover, through its out-reach activities, the Youth Opportunity Centers have been making a special effort to bring its program to the attention of the disadvantaged youth and members of minorities.

More long-range, but also calculated to make a significant contribution to help all young people to take their place in society, are the programs of federal aid to education. By improving vocational education and education in general, federal financial assistance will make education more meaningful and interesting and,

together with programs such as the Neighborhood Youth Corps which provides opportunities for part-time work, will help to reduce the rate of school dropouts. As a result, our young people will be better prepared for their first jobs, and also to shift to new jobs should the need arise.

By no stretch of the imagination, however, have we licked the problem. It remains one of serious proportions and, with the rising tide of our youth population, can still engulf us if we fail to act sufficiently and in time. The rate of unemployment among teen-age youth is still three times greater than the average for the labor force as a whole, and among nonwhite youths, it is five to six times as great. In fact, in some neighborhoods of our major cities, it is reported that as many as 50 percent of the young people are jobless—many no longer even seeking work because they are too discouraged and too beaten to do so.

Training alone will not solve this problem, and neither will education. Only jobs can do this, while more training, better education, and improved counseling can help the young people to compete more effectively in the modern job market. While we strive to keep more young people in school longer, so that they will be better prepared, the economy must provide enough jobs, for with jobs in sight young people will have more hope and much more motivation. Therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** 1. Programs aimed at providing jobs for young people should be expanded. The Neighborhood Youth Corps should be afforded enough money to provide an adequate program of jobs and training for youths from poor families whether they are in school or out of school.

2. Congress should complete action on the Cold War GI Bill, already passed by the Senate. The training and education provisions of this measure would benefit greatly those young Americans whose lives have been disrupted in order to serve their country.

3. The Youth Opportunity Centers should expand their coverage to many more cities and in more neighborhoods within the cities. In so doing, the centers would reach more youths and would be able to provide them with information on job opportunities and to offer them the counseling and guidance the young people may require. Steps should be taken to expand the number of counseling personnel, and to improve the quality of counseling in order to meet the needs of the Youth Opportunity Centers.

4. Expansionary fiscal and monetary policies by the federal government are essential to provide enough job opportunities for the entire labor force, for only in an environment of sustained full employment can the problem of youth unemployment be solved.

## TAXES

The 1964 federal income tax cut—totalling \$14 billion when fully effective this year—and the 1965 excise tax cut—providing tax savings of nearly \$2 billion this year and \$5 billion when fully effective in 1969—were major tax events of the last two years. Adding the 1962 tax cut for corporations of over \$3 billion, the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations have initiated total tax savings worth more than \$19 billion in 1965.

Two years ago tax reduction and reform were a top legislative goal of the late President Kennedy, as they long had been of the AFL-CIO. At the Fifth Constitutional Convention, we applauded the Administration's proposed tax cuts for moderate and lower-income families and loophole-closing requests, as long overdue steps towards making the distribution of the federal tax burden more fair. And we endorsed President Kennedy's timely and courageous view that a substantial tax cut was necessary as part of an overall effort to spur faster production and job growth.

Our support of the proposition that lower tax rates would quickly stimulate consumer demand, boost sales, create jobs and "ultimately bring in far more federal revenue than high tax rates, rising unemployment and a stagnant economy" has been justified by events.

Federal tax cuts not only have helped spur production and employment and, as a consequence, have helped bring total federal tax receipts to an all-time high; the income-tax reduction bill itself, as finally enacted in February 1964, contained commendable features helpful to working people. It provided the equivalent of a pay raise of about 7½ cents per hour for the average American worker. A new minimum standard deduction removed over 1½ million low-income families from the tax rolls entirely. The unjustifiable dividend tax-credit loophole was finally closed. Other provisions—particularly liberalized child-care and moving-expense deductions—are helpful to wage and salary earners. Moreover, the subsequent cut in excise taxes will bring savings to the average American family, if it is passed through to consumers and not pocketed by manufacturers and retailers.

Many of the Administration's proposals, on the other hand, were watered down or deleted by the Congress. The tax rates applying to moderate and lower-income families were cut too little and those at the top were cut too much, particularly in the face of the fact that many of the major loophole-closing proposals were ignored. As a consequence, \$5 billion of the \$11 billion net individual income tax cut—over 45 percent of the total—went to the 20 percent of the taxpayers with incomes over \$10,000. What is more, the cut in the top corporate tax rate from 52 percent to 48 percent

—which the AFL-CIO opposed—gave corporations another \$3 billion tax savings on top of the more than \$3 billion they already had received in 1962.

It should be recalled that, before World War II, the federal income tax favored “earned income”—earnings from wages and salaries. Today this situation is reversed. Those who receive capital gains profits from stock market and real estate transactions, interest payments on state and local bonds, stock options, mineral-depletion allowance write-offs and many other forms of unearned income, enjoy special loopholes that minimize their tax obligation. The split-income provision of the individual income tax further reduces the tax payments of the better-off. Even the transfer of vast sums to others, by gift and death, can now be accomplished by evasions that make taxation based upon ability-to-pay a sham.

With regard to corporate tax reduction, while the AFL-CIO supported the recent rate cut on the first \$25,000 of profits as a desirable effort to aid small enterprises, about 65 percent of the over \$6 billion in total corporate tax savings enacted since 1962 has gone to America's 4,000 largest and wealthiest corporations, those that need aid least. In the face of record corporate earnings and cash flow, this was tax relief that was neither deserved nor needed. What is more, the big-business effort to open new tax loopholes is continuously being pressed. A recent amendment by Senator Dirksen to a legitimate flood-relief bill, for example, seeks to achieve a totally unjustified tax savings that could total \$200 million yearly for federally regulated gas companies—a bonanza that the Federal Power Commission using a traditional and fair yardstick would deny. Such efforts to open new loopholes in the tax structure should be rejected.

While tax reduction has helped sustain the boom, it has failed to achieve a fairer distribution of the tax burden on the basis of ability to pay. Besides, because too little of the total tax cut went to moderate and lower-income families—who need it most and can be expected to spend the greater part of whatever they gain by tax-savings—the consumer base of the American economy was not strengthened sufficiently.

The rapid rise of federal revenues that occurs when the economy operates at a high level holds out the opportunity for increasing federal expenditures to meet urgent needs for public facilities and services, as well as the possibility of further tax reduction. In fact, if the rising flow of revenue to the Treasury that economic expansion brings is not diverted back into the economy's spending stream—through increased federal expenditures, tax cuts or a combination of both—rising production and employment cannot be sustained. In this connection, top priority should be given to increasing government investments for expanded public facilities,

and services. America's need for more education, health facilities, housing, mass transit and other metropolitan area aids and for public services generally is tremendous and grows each day.

Early this year President Johnson expressed the hope that a further tax cut might be considered in 1966 and that it “should provide tax relief for those who need it most.” Subsequently, two top Administration spokesmen expressed the view that an increase in the totally inadequate \$600 personal exemption might be an effective means towards the achievement of that end.

It can be assumed that the rising costs of our commitment in Viet Nam and increased expenditures to meet public needs will probably foreclose the possibility of a general tax cut next year. In good conscience, however, the \$100 million in federal income tax levies still imposed annually on impoverished families—those with incomes of less than \$3,000—should end immediately as a commitment of the War on Poverty. And, whenever general tax reduction again can be resumed, it should indeed go essentially to those who need it and deserve it most.

In any list of areas where a federal expenditure rise is critically needed, greater financial aid to help the hard-pressed states and localities deserves a very high priority. It is not generally recognized that these governments raise two-thirds of the revenue spent in the United States for purely civilian public services. Their tax collections will reach about \$60 billion this year, a 150 percent rise in the last dozen years. State and local revenue needs are rising so fast that, even with constantly increasing aid from Washington, their debts will reach \$100 billion this year—a nearly 200 percent rise over the last dozen years. And, still, urgent civilian public service needs remain unmet.

A year ago a special Presidential Task Force is reported to have proposed a new way to help close the state-local revenue gap. It urged that \$2-3 billion or more from rising federal tax receipts be automatically transferred to the states each year as a “block grant” with practically no strings attached.

Although the proposal has been hailed by many governors, it has many inherent dangers; since unrestricted grants would go into the general accounts of the states, the enforcement of anti-discrimination and minimum labor standards which now apply to federally supported expenditures could not be effectively enforced; federal funds could be used, directly or indirectly, for low-priority and even improper purposes, such as efforts to pirate plants from other states; while the traditional federal grants particularly help poorer states and increasingly, local governments, too much of the aid under this proposal would go to wealthier states and the revenue-starved cities would be by-passed altogether; in addition, unconditional cash grants, with no matching requirement by the states, could well encourage a relaxed tax effort on their part.

As federal tax receipts rise, they should, indeed, be increasingly shared with the states, and particularly the crisis-ridden metropolitan areas, but not as unrestricted cash handouts. The time-tested principle of federal grants-in-aid—for specified programs to meet priority national needs, under federal standards—is the most effective and rewarding means of providing federal assistance to the states and local governments.

In addition, as the states and localities seek more revenue by their own devices, as they should, far greater use must be made of progressive income taxes, now largely or totally neglected by about two-thirds of the states. Most state and local tax revenue now comes from regressive levies on consumers, property and payrolls—the kinds that bear hardest on those least able to pay. In fact, over \$650 million yearly is now being extracted via these taxes from impoverished families with incomes of under \$3,000. While realism does not encourage the expectation that regressive taxes generally can be quickly rolled back, significant steps can and should be taken towards meeting rising revenue needs through greater use of progressive income taxes. It is noteworthy that the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations has recently proposed that a state income-tax "credit" be allowed under the federal income tax law in order to encourage this desirable trend. Therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** The AFL-CIO applauds the Administration for its wise recognition that tax policy is not only concerned with raising revenue, and should be concerned with raising it equitably, but that it also can and should be shaped in a way to help stimulate sustained economic and job growth.

We commend President Johnson for his statement that further tax reduction—whenever it occurs—should go to those who need it most. There can be no justification for any delay, however, in finally removing from the federal tax-roll at least all families with incomes under \$3,000; these are people who by President Johnson's definition and by any standard are, indeed, impoverished. To continue to levy taxes on them is unconscionable.

The AFL-CIO will continue to seek the shaping of our tax systems—federal, state and local—in a manner which more fairly reflects the ability of Americans to meet their fair share of public service costs.

At the federal level, this requires that the next general tax cut—whenever it may be feasible—be concentrated on moderate and lower-income families, that all of the loopholes that now undermine the income tax—essentially to the advantage of the already well-off—be finally closed; and that unjustifiable tax cut to corporations be denied.

All of these actions are needed to restore the people's confidence

in the fairness of the federal tax system and in the integrity of those who enact our tax laws.

The Congress must be persuaded to concentrate the next tax cut—whenever it comes—on those who need it and deserve it most. If equitable tax reduction and reform, however, cannot be achieved, the country will be far better served by more substantial increases in federal outlays to meet urgent public facility and welfare needs, instead. Under any circumstances, tax cuts must not be undertaken at the sacrifice of essential public service programs.

Far greater federal aid to the states and localities to help them finance their soaring public service needs is imperative. Towards this end the AFL-CIO urges a rapid increase in federal grant-in-aid programs, geared particularly to helping poorer states and the revenue-starved core cities of the metropolitan areas, under proper safeguards. The AFL-CIO opposes, on the other hand, any aid via unconditional federal grants with no strings attached. Under this proposal proportionately too much aid would go to wealthier states and none to the hard-pressed cities, the misuse of federally shared revenue is invited, and effective enforcement of anti-discrimination and minimum labor standards could not be assured.

Finally, in the states and localities—where regressive sales, payroll and property taxes least related to ability to pay are now the major revenue source—the AFL-CIO will strive realistically both to mitigate the worst features of such levies and to restrain their increased use. To meet the continuing need for greater revenue we will continue to urge greater use of progressive income taxes, too long neglected by most states. To advance this objective, we urge the Congress to seriously weigh the proposal to allow a "credit" for the payment of state income taxes against an individual's income-tax obligation to the federal government.

Tax policy—at every level of government—increasingly touches the life of every AFL-CIO member. As the largest segment of the population, wage- and salary-earners pay most of the nation's tax bill. In our own interest and in the interest of the country, we have both a right and an obligation to insist that this burden be fairly shared and that tax policy truly serves the national welfare.

## MONETARY POLICY

America needs a coordinated monetary policy to help achieve and maintain full employment. Contradictory and confused action by one group of men—the Federal Reserve Board majority—

has already contributed to a loss of billions of dollars and millions of jobs. In 1959, the Fed's inflation psychosis and balance-of-payments confusion caused it to hike interest rates and help cause a recession that jeopardized the international position of the dollar. From 1961 to the summer of 1965, the Fed showed some signs of less restrictive policy. But since then the Fed has started to use the same dangerous medicine again by raising the discount rate to the highest level in more than a generation at a time when most interest rates are already at the highest points in 30 to 40 years. The Federal Reserve's cure for higher prices and balance of payments difficulties is to depress the whole economy. This nation cannot afford to continue to allow such costly policies. The Federal Reserve Board's "independence" should not mean contradiction of other government policies in pursuit of its own independent measures.

In regard to the December 1965 Federal Reserve Board action to raise the discount rate from 4% to 4½%, the AFL-CIO shares the President's "regrets" at "any action that raises the cost of credit particularly for homes, schools, hospitals and factories." With unemployment still at 4.2% of the labor force, this is no time for costly and restrictive monetary policies.

Because interest rates are a price that affects the cost of almost every product, the cost of living goes up when the discount rate rises. In the name of "fighting inflation" the board has been driving up the price of almost everything Americans buy, the cost of doing business, the cost of the federal debt, and the cost of state and local government operations.

Throughout the 1960s, the nation's other money managers, such as the Treasury, have pursued many technical innovations, some of which have been rather successful. However, two elements have been lacking for an effective monetary policy to meet the economy's needs: There has been no coordinated monetary policy determined by the Congress and the President, because the Federal Reserve has abused its independence. In addition, the nation's monetary managers have not made lower interest rates a policy objective. Instead, largely for balance of payments reasons, there has been a persistent tendency to maintain high and rising interest rates. The result has been unnecessary additions to the cost of credit, an unfair distribution of credit burdens and a pattern of high borrowing costs and higher rates. Costly credit deters job creation, because it makes credit less available to consumers, businessmen, farmers, state and local governments. It has been estimated that Americans pay \$11 billion more in interest when a 1 percent difference in interest rates is added. Therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** The AFL-CIO calls upon the Federal Reserve Board to roll back its recent discount rate increase.

The Federal Reserve Board should be required by law to act in harmony with the economic policies of the Congress and the executive branch of government.

The term of the chairman of the Federal Reserve Board should be coterminous with that of the President of the United States.

Membership on the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve and on governing and advisory committees of the entire Federal Reserve System, including its regional banks, should be opened up to representation from major groups in the economy—including consumers, organized labor and small businessmen.

The Congress should not change the 4½% ceiling on long term government bonds and should make efforts to achieve lower interest rates a matter of national policy.

Interest rates in the United States should be determined by the needs of the American economy for sustained full employment and increasing buying power—not by the monetary decisions of foreign central banks.

The increasing concentration of banking and its interlocking business connections is a dangerous economic development. Antitrust laws should be applied to banking operations, and every effort should be made to strengthen, rather than weaken, attempts to make banking more competitive and less interlocked with non-bank business interests.

## MODERNIZATION OF THE FEDERAL BUDGET

The federal government's annual budget is the single most important fiscal document in this nation. It exerts an influence that is felt by every American citizen, by the national economy and by the entire free world.

The United States government spends and invests about 16 per cent of the gross national product. This level of federal spending and investing has made imperative the establishment of a modern and comprehensive federal financial policy. Such a policy cannot be achieved without an adequate system of financial reporting and planning. The present federal budget is an archaic and inadequate document for these purposes. In practice, it merely constitutes a forecast of proposed expenditures and anticipated revenues to meet them. As such, it is of some assistance to Congress, but it is of little value in accounting for administrative control or in the development of economic and social programming for national growth and stability.

The administrative budget is an illogical conglomeration of current expense and capital investment items without much economic significance. It does not include the trust fund accounts—such as social security funds—and significant fiscal and economic data are buried in endless tables and lengthy analyses.

It is true that the federal consolidated cash budget, comprising cash receipts and payments, including the trust fund accounts, does set forth federal income and outgo at the time they occur. It is also true that the third form of treating federal finances—the federal government expenditures and receipts in the national income accounts—is a valuable document to provide, on an accrual basis, a timely measure of federal financial impact on the national economy.

None of these means of presenting federal financing operations, however, are organized to measure the worth or calculate the depreciation of government assets nor government earnings and the sources from which they are derived.

Without separate capital investment and current expense accounts set forth in the federal budget, its constructive use for administrative management, legislative control and adequate economic analysis is virtually impossible.

What is of additional importance, particularly to organized labor, is that the lack of a federal capital budget makes it extremely difficult to plan and execute needed programs in the public sector, calculated to stimulate job-creation, and on a long-range basis, to aid in establishing adequate economic growth and stability for the nation.

A modern business-like budget for the federal government would establish one account for general housekeeping expenses of government and for national security. These are not investments in physical or financial assets and are not expected to yield a dollar return. The other budget account would be a capital expenditure account, which involves creation, improvement or acquisition of assets or acquisition of recoverable claims.

The most easily determined of the latter category are self-liquidating lending programs for housing, agriculture, maritime, veterans, small business, rural electrification and loans to foreign nations. Under this heading would also fall investments in self-liquidating resources projects carried forward by TVA, the Army Corps of Engineers and the Department of the Interior. Others not so easily defined include federal grant-in-aid programs, physical assets owned and dealt with by the United States—such as federal public lands, public buildings and certain water development and land use projects.

The capital budget is almost universally used by modern business corporations, by most western democracies, by at least one-third of the states, and by most of the larger American cities. Only the federal government lags behind. The present Administration has made only a few hesitant steps towards the development of a capital budget.

Budget policy lies at the heart of financial and economic programming of governments and corporations. It can and should play an indispensable part in the formulation and execution of the government's economic policies, particularly with regard to public sector spending and investing.

Federal budget reform is required to provide the President with the means to adequately manage government resources, and to formulate sound monetary, tax and public investment policies—not merely from year to year, but in the longer-run, as well. Therefore, be it

**RESOLVED.** 1. The AFL-CIO strongly urges the adoption of legislation to reform the budget in order to develop a modern business-like budget for the federal government, with a clear and separate accounting of investments and reimbursable outlays.

2. We urge the President to establish a National Commission on Budget Reform, to study the problem and to submit its findings and recommendations within a year, as the basis for legislative implementation.

3. We also recommend, as an interim measure, continuation of the mid-year budget review, the income and product account budget presentation, and amendments to the consolidated cash budget to account for total income and outgo, including the trust funds, and setting up two subsidiary accounts—for current expenses and for capital investments.

4. The Cost Benefit Analysis of the Defense Department must be carefully assessed as to its relevance for other executive departments and agencies. Such computerized systems analyses are only a tool and not a substitute for social and economic objectives. They are merely as meaningful as the assumptions which determine the data fed into it. Therefore, special care must be taken that social and economic programs be weighed, not merely on considerations of efficient operation, but on their attainment of social and economic goals for which such programs have been undertaken. The objectives of national economic and social policies must not be lost in the present emphasis on efficiency and computerized systems analyses.

## BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

America's balance-of-payments deficits continue to concern U.S. policy-makers and they call for realistic reassessment.

The American dollar is the world's major reserve currency because the U.S. is the strongest economic power, not because America has the most gold. America's strength does not rest in Fort Knox—it is based on the great productive ability, skilled manpower and capacity of our economy. The dollar, therefore, can be protected best by maintaining economic strength at home and by monetary and banking actions to quell any potential runs on the dollar, until more effective international monetary mechanisms are developed.

Fears of balance-of-payments difficulties have led to measures that restrict the growth of the American economy. In 1959, cries of "inflation" and "balance-of-payments pressures" led to tight-money and other economy-curbing actions and a recession soon followed. Despite much more realistic efforts since then, balance-of-payments considerations have caused America to increase interest rates to unnecessary heights, to discourage wage increases through "wage guidelines," and to permit unemployment to remain high during generally prosperous times. American labor rejects the view that unemployment is an appropriate "trade-off" for other economic objectives or that the wage-share of national production should be kept low for balance-of-payments reasons.

In the past five years, unit wage costs of industrial goods have declined and productivity has advanced rapidly, but payments pressures have not been eliminated. A major reason for the continuing balance-of-payments difficulty is the high and rising outflow of private capital.

U.S. corporations have sent almost twice as much money to foreign countries this year as in 1960, after five years of national concern about the balance-of-payments, and three years of Presidential pleas to restrain such outflows. In 1960, \$1.7 billion in direct investment, alone, went abroad, while in 1964 it reached \$2.4 billion and this year is expected to reach \$3 to \$3.5 billion.

Effective mechanisms—both direct and indirect—to control the outflow of private capital should be available to the government. Our government should be empowered to act quickly and effectively to curb such outflow, when necessary.

In the long run, with expansionary economic policies at home and an effective international monetary mechanism, runs on the dollar will become improbable. But in the meantime, to prevent short-run crises, the government should have a variety of effective tools to protect the American economy and the dollar. In any event, American economic and social policies should be geared

to the needs of the national interest and the American people, not to the policies of foreign central banks. Therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** The AFL-CIO calls upon the Administration to continue to improve methods of meeting balance-of-payments pressures, within the context of a growing American economy.

Measures to restrict the growth of the national economy, in the name of balance-of-payments considerations, should be rejected. The economy at home should be encouraged to expand, with rising wages and salaries and expansionary monetary and fiscal policies, in order to reach and maintain full employment.

Interest rates should be geared to the expansion of the American economy and lower interest rates should be encouraged by government action. American monetary policy should be based on the needs of the nation's welfare, not on reactions to interest-rate changes abroad.

Mechanisms for effectively supervising private capital outflows should be enacted by the Congress and put into effect, whenever necessary.

Taxes or controls on tourism or on the freedom of personal foreign travel should be the last, not the first step of a free society in dealing with balance-of-payments difficulties.

America should encourage the use of U.S. flagships in shipping and seek the end of freight-rate structures that discriminate against U.S. shipping and exports. The government should also protect U.S. commerce from other types of foreign discrimination.

We commend the Administration for curbing dollar outflows due to military and other government spending abroad, by relating such expenditures when possible, to balance-of-payments needs. We urge the Administration to continue its efforts to curb dollar outflows, due to such government expenditures abroad.

Suggestions for flexible exchange rates should be examined.

In the long run, the basic solution of the balance-of-payments problems of the U.S. and other countries requires a more effective international monetary mechanism. We urge the Administration to continue to seek the establishment of an international mechanism that can provide an effective bank for the world's credit needs.

## CUTBACKS AND SHIFTS OF DEFENSE SPENDING

The increase in defense spending necessitated by the situation in Viet Nam once again calls attention to the impact of essential

military expenditures on our economy. Just as such increased expenditures can lead to increased employment, their reduction can lead to dislocations and unemployment. Moreover, dislocations can result without any change in the level of defense spending, but simply because of technological change and because of shifts in government contracts—from one piece of hardware to another, from one firm to another, and from one community to another.

Over the postwar years such changes in defense and atomic energy requirements, frequently abrupt and without warning, have caused considerable hardship. They have created unemployment among workers, and they have left communities stranded.

Although the federal government has periodically exhibited some concern over the problems caused by its contracting programs, in our judgment it has not been sufficiently sensitive to their impact and there has been no effective follow through to meet the problem of dislocation. The economic adjustment activities of the Defense Department, which are intended to aid communities and workers in private industry adversely affected by defense procurement policies, is very limited. Moreover, its program of assistance to workers on the payroll of the Department of Defense is frequently meaningful only to the extent that the workers are prepared to pick up and move to distant locations, often for jobs at considerably lower wages. At the same time, the Atomic Energy Commission has taken steps to provide advance notice of impending cutbacks, but its direct assistance to displaced workers is pretty well limited to helping them to locate new job opportunities elsewhere.

It is clear that the federal government has an unmet obligation in connection with the dislocations caused by its procurement programs. The federal government should take all of the steps possible to mitigate the impact of those dislocations for which it alone is responsible. Therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** 1. We urge the federal government to take advantage of reduction in defense and atomic energy expenditures to increase outlays for vitally-needed public facilities and services. Such action will not only accelerate our effort to satisfy urgent public needs but will also create jobs to take up the slack which otherwise would occur.

2. We urge the federal government to adopt a policy of providing adequate advance notice to workers and communities of impending cutbacks in defense spending.

3. We urge the federal government to enact a program of assistance, including financial aid, to help workers and communities to overcome the adverse effects of reduction or shifts in spending for defense and atomic energy.

## NATURAL RESOURCES AND ATOMIC ENERGY

Historically, the American trade union movement has fought for the preservation of our precious natural resources against every enemy—greed, waste and neglect. During the past decade, the problems have increased measurably and the problems of the future—highlighted by the growing contamination of our water and air—demand immediate and continuing attention.

Significant accomplishments have been made to meet many of the major resources problems during the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations. The 89th Congress deserves highest praise for its significant contributions during its first session. But much still needs to be accomplished.

We therefore here set forth those principles we believe must be guidelines for a new conservation policy for America and for the planning and programs that would make it responsive to the nation's needs.

The federal government has the inescapable responsibility to formulate, plan, make investigations, institute programs, conserve, develop and manage, and make available the major resources investments and skilled manpower to meet immediate and longer-range national goals.

Such a natural resources policy must be integrated with our economic policy. Resources are an indispensable element that can help attain full employment. Our citizens must be protected against concentration of economic power in a few hands, so that the benefits of natural resources programs may flow to the people at large.

To eliminate the years of duplication, waste, jurisdictional and policy conflicts among federal resources agencies, the federal government should reorganize and coordinate its resources policies and structure. Such unified policies will facilitate carrying out comprehensive land, water and energy resources programs, to contribute their fullest measure to achievement of over-all national goals of economic growth and stability and strengthening of democratic institutions.

We call for regional planning and development agencies backed by the financial resources of the federal government.

There should be room for creation of special purpose regional organizations to meet problems and requirements of particular regions.

National and regional organization and planning are needed to facilitate the development and operation of a primary national power supply system and its regional components. The federal

government should lay down the rules for creation and operation of such national, mixed-ownership power supply system.

Appropriations for major projects should be for more than a one year basis to permit meeting of schedules and greater economies.

These areas need particular attention:

#### **Soil Conservation:**

A national review of the goals, progress and requirements of the national soil conservation program on private and public lands.

#### **Water Supply:**

Comprehensive plans for control of surface and groundwater streamflow by construction of integrated, regional, multi-purpose systems of dams and reservoirs, particularly in water-short areas, and more systematic exploration and use of the groundwater resource.

Acceleration of the federal desalination program, with emphasis on the use of nuclear power to aid in achieving economically competitive supplies of desalinated water.

Full evaluation of the need for and economic feasibility of a massive United States-Canadian program to divert Canadian waters into the Western and Great Lakes region to meet future water needs.

#### **Water Quality:**

The federal grants-in-aid program to assist municipalities under the Water Pollution Control and Community Facilities Acts, to construct sewage treatment and disposal works, should be substantially increased and the ceilings on grants to the larger communities should be raised.

More adequate preventive measures against industrial pollution are needed at all levels of government.

Federal compliance and enforcement procedures must be broadened, strengthened, and streamlined. Water and air pollutions from federal installations must be rapidly abated.

#### **Air Pollution:**

The federal air pollution program should be strengthened by increasing grants-in-aid to state air pollution control agencies, to establish strict federal performance criteria, to improve state programs, to provide strong enforcement machinery, and to expand to provide economically feasible techniques of reducing air pollution from motor vehicles, industrial and municipal contaminants.

#### **Electric Power:**

The recent massive power failure in the Northeastern region illustrates the absolute importance of an uninterrupted flow of electric power to the nation.

We urge that present Federal Power Commission investigations into the causes of the blackout be expanded to include a broad scrutiny by the Administration and Congress as to the state of the nation's power systems.

Since 1959 we have urged enactment of legislation which would empower FPC to approve proposed large voltage transmission systems and if necessary to order interconnections. Interregional intertie between and among federal power systems should be expanded as necessary yardsticks of emulation by private utilities. More intertie studies by the FPC and other federal power agencies should be authorized by the Congress.

As the nation's largest consumer organization, we urge stronger federal regulation of interstate wholesale operations of gas and electric utilities and rapid improvement of state regulation of retail rates in order that the benefits of giant power will be fully shared by the consuming public. Organized labor, therefore, urges that the House defeat any efforts to reduce or remove federal regulatory control over any interstate wholesale power transactions of any utility.

We support legislation that would designate all interstate power lines as common carriers in the same manner as airlines, buses, trains and steamship lines.

The so-called public versus private power controversy continues to block needed resources and energy programs. All elements of government and private industry have their proper roles to play in achieving low-cost abundant energy for the American people, and should be held strictly accountable for performance.

We urge legislation in the several states where none exists to enable all utility workers, whether employed by publicly, cooperatively or privately owned electric utilities, to achieve the same kind of bargaining rights accorded to industrial workers in general. We also urge that the federal government, in new or amended power contracts with utilities, protect the rights of workers to bargain collectively through trade unions of their own choice.

#### **Recreation and Land Use:**

We urge acceleration of federal, state and local programs to acquire necessary recreational land, to expand facilities and to place special emphasis on urban needs.

#### **Natural Gas:**

We will oppose any legislation designed to remove interstate natural gas pipelines from Federal Power Commission regulation under the Natural Gas Act to the detriment of all consumers. We urge that the FPC launch a National Gas Survey along the same lines and with the same general aims as those of its pioneering National Power Survey.

We endorse legislation to establish a federal regulatory program, with adequate enforcement provisions, to protect safety of workers on pipeline facilities of regulated natural gas companies.

#### **Shale Oil:**

We urge full protection of the enormous stake that all Americans hold in the oil shale deposits on federally owned lands. The federal government should rapidly enlarge its efforts to develop economically competitive techniques of processing liquid petroleum out of shale rock. It should build demonstration plants as yardsticks to private industry, performance and costs. Resumption of leasing on federal oil shale land should not be authorized without the strongest protections against private monopoly and speculation.

#### **Minerals:**

We endorse the Mine Safety bill which has passed the House and is awaiting action in the Senate.

Once again, we call for a national long-range minerals and raw materials program which could be stimulated by a searching survey to update the President's Materials Policy Commission report of 1952:

Pending such a survey we propose:

- a) Establishment of a federal minerals and raw materials agency at White House level.
- b) Establishment of a national buffer stockpile of key minerals, as a means of stabilizing prices, with the provision that the stockpile will not be manipulated to interfere with a labor dispute. This should be implemented by commodity agreements between producing and consuming nations.
- c) Amendments to existing mining laws to achieve direct limited tonnage subsidy programs for producers, including smaller mines, when prices drop below predetermined levels, with the program limited to production for domestic use.

#### **Atomic Energy:**

We once again call for establishment of a new Division of Peace-

ful Atomic Development within the Atomic Energy Commission. At the same time, we repeat that development and worker safety must proceed hand-in-hand.

This Division would be given the responsibility of carrying out a far-reaching research, development and demonstration program with the goal of achieving an economically feasible breeder reactor technology. This would multiply a hundredfold the total energy potential of this nation. We also urge accelerated programs to obtain power from the limitless energy of the ocean by means of controlled fusion of the heavy hydrogen atom.

We urge that the Atomic Energy Commission be given the necessary resources so that it may be able to set and achieve immediate and longer-range goals in an orderly fashion.

We urge continuation of the constructive efforts of the Commission's Labor-Management Advisory Committee, which has achieved important gains in standardization of record-keeping of worker's occupational radiation exposure records, and is moving toward achievement of labor's goal of an adequate workmen's compensation program in the field of occupational radiation.

#### **Protections Against Monopoly in Natural Resources:**

We call for preservation and strengthening of historical federal safeguards against monopoly in the natural resources field, including priority in the sale of federally generated wholesale power to public-groups and the protections found in the Federal Power, Natural Gas, and Public Utilities Holding Company Acts.

#### **Enforcing the Reclamation Law:**

We deplore and call special attention to failure of the Secretary of the Interior to enforce the excess land ownership provisions of the Federal Reclamation Act in the Central and Imperial Valleys of California and the Salt River Valley of Arizona.

Labor has historically supported the federal reclamation program as needed to develop the West and as an early day Economic Opportunity Act for young and poor farmers. Now the program is fast becoming a huge federal subsidy to the corporation farmer and the absentee investor. We can no longer support any proposed reclamation project that allows this administrative perversion of law and national policy.

It is our strong belief that the Western Reclamation program should undergo a drastic review by both the President and the Congress. Consideration should be given to alternative water uses for municipal and industrial supply and as related to the nation's future food requirements. The need for additional federal credit and subsidies for farmers to acquire irrigated land on new projects should be considered.

We urge that the Reclamation law be amended to provide that no money shall be appropriated for any Bureau of Reclamation water delivery system or any new project authorized unless all excess landowners have signed recordable contracts to sell off their holdings greater than the acreage provided by law.

The Secretary of the Interior should acquire land being divested from excess holders at prices which would reflect its value without the addition of federally-subsidized water, in order to bring its settlement within the financial reach of small farmers and others and prevent speculation.

The attack on rural poverty can be given new impetus by rapid and orderly break-up of the 900,000 acres of federally-irrigated land in California presently held in excess of the law, and their settlement by family farmers who would be aided by low-interest federal credit and other programs to establish thriving smaller farm communities. Therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** We in the AFL-CIO firmly reiterate our determination to continue this fight. It is our firm resolve not to be content with the victories of the recent past. Rather, we intend to push forward for policies which will meet the nation's needs.

We demand the federal government shoulder its responsibility; eliminate the waste and duplication in its own programs; administer our national resources for the clear benefit of all the people, rather than just to profit a greedy few; translate the brave words about elimination of water and air pollution into positive achievement; and develop without further delay an atomic policy with emphasis on peaceful atomic development.

In this resolution we have stated our objectives in detail. They can be summed up by saying we want our natural resources used for the good of all Americans. That is our goal and we intend to achieve it.

## FARMERS AND FARM LABORERS

Since its inception, the American labor movement has supported the effort to achieve a decent livelihood for all of those who produce America's abundant food and fibre—farm operators and farm laborers alike. In fact, organized labor has consistently supported legislation to improve every aspect of rural life—to raise farm income through production planning, price supports and subsidized exports, to expand farm credit, conserve the soil, aid farm cooperatives, insure crops against damage, to include farm laborers under the Fair Labor Standards Act and all other federal and state social welfare legislation, and to improve rural standards of education, health and housing. Perhaps of even

greater importance, labor's success in raising the living standards of wage and salary-earners and expanding job opportunities everywhere has strengthened the market for the products of our farms and has helped create employment for the millions who have left the farms.

The technological revolution in agriculture—which, since World War II has been raising output per manhour faster even than in industry—has brought bankruptcy to smaller farms and has accelerated the emergence of larger ones. A constantly bigger share of agricultural production, in fact—in fruits, vegetables, cotton, wheat, and cattle raising, for example—has been shifting to corporate-type factory farms run by managers and worked by hired farm laborers.

Efficient family-owned and operated farms persist, nonetheless, and many can be preserved as a major factor in American agriculture, if effective federal aid continues. They continue to need adequate credit at low interest rates to meet capital investment requirements and aid in strengthening farm cooperatives, both purchasing and marketing. Furthermore, since the production of many farm commodities tends constantly to exceed demand, and therefore tends to depress market prices, assurance of a fair return for the family operated farm and a fair price for the consumer continues to require the maintenance of a federal system of production control and income support. In the judgment of most agricultural experts, the withdrawal of the federal government from agricultural affairs would bring disaster.

Many of the largest commercial farms, on the other hand, enjoy earnings equaling or exceeding parity; yet they receive a substantial part of the total federal farm subsidy. What is more, the struggle for survival of the family-owned and operated farms is made more unequal by the fact that working farmers have to compete unfairly against low-paid hired farm laborers who work primarily for the large commercial enterprises. The sweatshop wage of the agricultural worker holds down the production costs of his large employer and degrades the family-farmer who must compete against both.

During the last two years, however, significant progress has been made in behalf of American farm laborers.

After years of effort by church groups, welfare and consumer organizations, representatives of family farmers and the AFL-CIO, Public Law 78, the so-called bracero program, expired on December 31, 1964. As a result, only about 40,000 foreign farm workers were imported in 1965, compared to about 200,000 in 1964. More than 85,000 additional domestic wage earners had jobs in American agriculture in August 1965, than during August 1964. What is more, with growers finally required to seek domestic

workers to meet most of their needs, farm wages have gone up, although still inadequately.

The drastic limitation on the use of imported farm labor imposed by the termination of P.L. 78, has led to an unparalleled campaign of propaganda and vilification. The growers cried out about insufficient and inefficient domestic workers and about "crops rotting in the ground." They heaped abuse on Secretary of Labor Wirtz for following the clear intent of the Congress. Not content, they even sought to transfer his authority to determine foreign farm labor needs to the Secretary of Agriculture, an effort that was defeated in the Senate, 46 to 45, only by the Vice President's deciding vote.

After less than one year of adjustment to the termination of P.L. 78, Secretary Wirtz's special "California Farm Labor Panel" has made this noteworthy observation:

"Nothing that has occurred in California agriculture this year supports the repeated charge—which we now assert to be a myth—that no American workers will perform "stoop labor." On the contrary, there is ample evidence that Americans will perform even more onerous work, provided that the wages are fair and the working conditions are decent. Adequate wages and attractive working conditions will produce not only sufficient numbers of workers, but also a more productive and responsible work force."

Progress in behalf of domestic farm workers has also been made in other directions during the last two years.

The Economic Opportunity Act provides for an authorization of \$20 million annually for education, housing, sanitation and day-care centers for farm workers and their families, as part of the anti-poverty war.

The Crew Leader Registration Law was finally enacted in 1964, although its terms have not yet been effectively implemented.

Further progress in several areas hopefully is near at hand.

A federal minimum wage for farm workers finally is proposed in amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act recently reported out by the House Subcommittee on Labor of the House Committee on Education and Labor. Unfortunately, the bill provides for a lower minimum—\$1.15 per hour on July 1, 1965, and \$1.25 on July 1, 1968—than is proposed for other newly covered workers.

In addition, the Administration's bill to establish minimum unemployment insurance standards covers all workers on farms that hire more than 300 man-days of labor during any quarter

of the year. This would include only 2 percent of the nation's farms, but it would cover 44 percent of all farm workers.

While this progress is encouraging, much remains to be done. Farm workers still are denied the benefits of most of the federal and state legislation designed to improve the welfare of American workers, and they remain the most underpaid, under-employed and poverty-stricken segment of the labor force. Therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** The AFL-CIO, the largest organization of consumers in the nation, seeks no cut-rate prices at the grocery store based on the exploitation of anyone. We seek a decent livelihood for farm laborers, for farm proprietors and for those who process and distribute our food and fibre.

We recognize that the unique problems of agriculture require special government aid programs to help farmers secure a fair return for the abundance they produce. Federal assistance, however, should be devoted entirely to helping those in agriculture who need this aid, rather than the highly efficient and profitable corporate-type enterprises that increasingly play a larger role in the industry. We support the continuance of credit and other aids for family farms, as well as a rational system of production planning and income-maintenance, to help provide a fair return to farm families and fair food prices for consumers. We also believe that a ceiling should be placed on the amount of federal aid made available to any farm.

The AFL-CIO also supports the increased use of our agricultural abundance to augment the diets of the underprivileged both at home and overseas.

In addition, the AFL-CIO will continue its effort to aid the most exploited people in agriculture—the farm laborers.

We highly commend Secretary of Labor Wirtz for his courage—in the face of great pressure by the growers—for withstanding unjustified demands for the use of imported foreigners in our fields. We urge the final termination of all foreign-worker import programs. The time has come for employers in agriculture to be required to attract their labor force by paying adequate wages and providing decent working conditions, just as other American employers are required to do.

We urge the full protection of farm workers under all of the federal and state welfare legislation other workers enjoy—especially their inclusion under the federal Fair Labor Standards Act, the National Labor Relations Act and the various laws providing for unemployment and workmen's compensation.

Finally, the AFL-CIO calls upon its affiliates to lend their support to the continuing effort to organize farm workers. Only

through strong unions can these exploited workers fully realize their economic, social and political rights.

## HELPING THE CHRONICALLY DEPRESSED AREAS

Two important measures to spur economic development and new job opportunities in chronically distressed areas were enacted in 1965. The first was special legislation to aid the long-lagging Appalachian Region. Subsequent passage of the Public Works and Economic Development Act gave assurance that federal aid for depressed areas, in all parts of the country, inaugurated by the now expired Area Redevelopment Act, will be carried forward and expanded.

The Appalachian aid bill is unique in that it initiates a pioneer six-year cooperative effort to resolve problems that are common to the entire eleven-state Appalachian Region. It authorizes federal expenditures of over \$1 billion for a variety of special projects. These include an effort to end the isolation of the region, through a vast program of highway construction, the building of health facilities and vocational schools, land improvement, reclamation of mining areas, and the development of timber and water resources. The bill also establishes an Appalachian Regional Commission—representing the federal government and all of the states involved—to prepare an overall economic redevelopment plan for the entire 360-county region and to coordinate the implementation of projects authorized by the bill.

Passage of the Public Works and Economic Development Act insures a continuing and expanded effort to help distressed urban and rural areas and Indian reservations wherever they may be. Towards this end, the bill authorizes federal outlays of three-quarters of a billion dollars annually for five years for public facility grants and loans, industrial and commercial loans, technical assistance and other purposes. In a new departure, it also encourages the establishment of development districts, through which economic planning can proceed on a coordinated multi-county basis. The bill also makes possible the establishment of "Regional Action Planning Commissions," a new mechanism through which multi-state regional development efforts—perhaps in New England, the upper Great Lakes area, the Ozarks region or elsewhere—can be planned and implemented, when economic factors indicate the desirability of such joint action.

Even before Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois introduced leg-

islation to help the distressed areas ten years ago, organized labor was deeply concerned about this increasing problem. And after the Area Redevelopment Act was signed into law by President Kennedy in 1961, AFL-CIO members at the local, state and national levels played an active role in the uphill fight to restore lagging communities to economic health.

The business loans, public facility grants and other aids available under ARA and now under the new Appalachian and Public Works and Economic Development Acts, have one ultimate purpose only—the creation of decent and permanent jobs for the people in the afflicted regions. These acts properly include the essential provision, moreover, that in implementing these new programs, new employment opportunities are to be created rather than the mere transfer of jobs from one area of the United States to another. Therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** The AFL-CIO long ago pointed out that at best: "Area redevelopment will be a slow and painstaking undertaking; no overnight miracles are expected.... Most distressed areas were a long time going down, and it will require considerable time—as well as aid and much effort—to restore them to good health."

Furthermore, economic redevelopment cannot succeed without a backdrop of overall economic expansion throughout the nation as a whole. In the past, the country as a whole has enjoyed periods of general prosperity and economic growth while the special needs of the depressed areas were tragically ignored. Fortunately, this neglect is now ended.

The AFL-CIO commends the role that many of its members are playing at all levels—federal, state and local—in a continuing effort to aid the distressed areas, and the formation of the AFL-CIO Appalachian Council which seeks to assure full labor participation in all activities to aid that region. We urge even greater labor participation in all redevelopment efforts.

The AFL-CIO applauds the provisions in the new Appalachian and the Public Works and Economic Development acts to outlaw assistance to runaways. In implementing the mandate of the Congress to deny aid that would result in the transfer of jobs, assistance must clearly be denied not only to the traditional runaway, but to firms in highly competitive industries that would gain an unfair advantage, and also to concerns that would expand presently under utilized industries and thereby jeopardize job opportunities and labor standards elsewhere.

In addition, applicants for industrial, commercial and public-works grants and loans in distressed areas, who in any way seek

to limit the opportunities of all workers to benefit from them, without discrimination, and to freely join unions of their own choosing, should be speedily rejected.

## THE MENACE OF INDUSTRIAL BOND FINANCING

At the same time that an expanded federal effort is being launched to help chronically depressed areas through passage of the Appalachian and the Public Works and Economic Development acts, new distressed communities are unfortunately being created by plant piracy, aided and abetted by the tax laws of the federal government itself.

At first sanctioned only by the southern states, but now spreading elsewhere, revenue from the sale of tax-free state and local bonds is improperly and increasingly being used to build plants for private profit purposes, often specifically to entice industrial runaways from other communities.

The financial advantages of this scheme for the employer are substantial. Because the states and municipalities can sell tax-free bonds at a low interest rate, building costs are lower. Sometimes the employer buys the bonds himself and pockets the tax-free interest. Moreover, when he moves into the plant, often built to his own specifications, he pays only a minimal rental. What is more, no property tax is levied against him because the property is publicly owned.

Already scores of thousands of AFL-CIO members have lost their jobs because of plant piracy encouraged by this system of public industrial bond financing for private gain, sanctioned by an unjustifiable loophole in the federal tax law. Ironically, the federal taxes paid by all Americans—even those levied on the displaced workers themselves—subsidize this use of tax-free bonds to build plants to entice runaways. What is more, these industrial-bond-financing schemes, based upon the perversion of the state and local tax-free bond issuance privilege, undermine the effort of the federal government itself to aid distressed areas by legitimate means and to forestall the creation of new ones. Therefore be it

**RESOLVED:** The AFL-CIO calls upon the Congress to immediately close the federal tax loophole which encourages plant piracy through the improper use of revenue obtained from the sale of tax-free state and local bonds. No federal law should tolerate this misuse of public funds for private profit. It is incomprehensible that the federal government should continue to abet—in fact

to subsidize—the creation of new distressed areas through a tax loophole, while at the same time, through other special measures, it is seeking to mitigate the tragedy of chronic distress where it already exists.

## WAGES PAID ON GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS

In 1965, Congress once again recognized the responsibility of government to maintain decent standards of wages and working conditions on work performed under government contract. The Service Contracts Act, which was adopted this year, applies to service work performed under government contracts, in much the same way as Walsh-Healey applies to manufacturing and Davis-Bacon to construction. All of these laws specify that workers on government contracts be paid prevailing wages.

In order to protect workers against low-wage employment under government contracts, all three acts must be effectively administered and enforced. Government contracts with private industry should not be a reward to those employers who pay wages below those prevailing in the industry. Contracts should be awarded to those who pay fair wages.

Unfortunately, for the past two years no determinations have been made under the Walsh-Healey Act. The Labor Department has allowed the act to bog down because of court challenges of the secretary's determinations. However, with rulings by the Court of Appeals in both challenged cases, there is no excuse for not reactivating the determination process. Certainly, the criteria laid down by the courts are not insurmountable barriers to the wage determination process. Administrative action should be taken to make the Walsh-Healey Act a meaningful program once again.

Fringe benefit expenditures are considered by the Davis-Bacon Act and the Service Contracts Act in determining prevailing conditions, but not by the Walsh-Healey Act. Fringe benefits are an important ingredient of working conditions in manufacturing.

Establishment of safe working conditions should also be an important consideration of the government in its awarding of public contracts.

Because wages constantly change, prompt administrative pro-

cedures for determining prevailing minimum wages are essential. Delays deny to workers wages which otherwise may be their due. Therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** 1. The Secretary of Labor establish administrative procedures to effectively determine prevailing wages under the Walsh-Healey Act. Prompt determinations in all areas affected by this act are essential to accomplish the intent of the law.

2. The Walsh-Healey Act particularly needs to be re-activated. Prompt wage determinations in all industries with periodic up-datings of the minimum, should be undertaken.

3. Regulations to effectuate the Service Contracts Act should be promptly adopted so that service workers will attain the safeguards provided by this new act. The determination process should take full cognizance of the conditions prevailing for workers under union contract.

4. The Secretary of Labor should also provide for adequate enforcement of wage and safety standards to assure adequate protection of workers on government contracts.

5. Congress should also bring the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act up-to-date by enabling the Secretary of Labor to include fringe benefits in the determination of prevailing conditions in an industry.

## **REINSURANCE FOR PRIVATE PENSION PLANS**

Private pension plans have become a major element in providing an adequate income to workers during their retirement years.

Yet because of the many years required for full funding of past service liabilities, too many workers of companies who go out of business may find that they are denied the pension benefits on which they had relied. As more rapid technological change results in the moving of plants, the disappearance of employers from the industrial scene and even the decline of some industries, more and more workers will lose the retirement security they thought had been accumulated through their years of service.

Other workers face interruption of, or a cutback in retirement benefits when pension fund resources are diluted through declines in the value of investments. A recent disclosure of a sharp drop in the investment equity of a major pension plan underlines the need

to protect workers who would be the victims of fluctuations in the value of pension fund investments.

To prevent such tragedies the IUD and the AFL-CIO have urged a system of government reinsurance for private pension plans similar in principal to the reinsurance of bank deposits through the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. At the cost of a very small premium payable by each pension fund, reinsurance could fully guarantee the security promised workers; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** We renew our demand for the enactment of pension reinsurance legislation. We call upon the appropriate congressional committee to begin hearings and to report a measure to afford full protection to workers against the catastrophe of the loss of accumulated pension credits.

## **FEDERAL RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS**

Federal expenditures for research and development are now \$15 billion. They reached their present level from \$3 billion only 10 years ago.

This enormous amount of money is provided for federal government programs in pure and applied research and in the development of various materials, processes and devices—in military, space and other federal activities. These federal expenditures represent almost three-fourths of total public and private outlays for research and development.

Most of these federal funds go to a small number of giant corporations—providing a potential seedbed for monopoly.

Moreover, there is little public information about this vast federal effort, which is related to industrial technology and civilian products, as well as to direct military and space programs. Therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** We urge the Congress to examine the federal research and development effort, since a careful evaluation of these programs is long overdue.

We also support the purpose of pending legislation, which would set forth a national policy dealing with the issuance of patents, created at public expense. Title to such patents should be held by the U. S. and be placed in the public domain under Royalty-free, cross-licensing provisions. Such provisions are now contained in patent policies governing the Departments of Interior, Agriculture, Health-Education and Welfare, the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Atomic Energy Commission. But provisions of this

type are not contained in the policies of the Defense Department or the National Space Administration, which together account for about 80 percent of all federal research and development outlays.

We also endorse legislation which would prohibit pre-employment agreements by private industry, requiring employees to waive their rights to inventions, and we oppose any efforts to raise patent-filing fees beyond their present level.

## WOMEN WORKERS

Historically the AFL-CIO has sought to advance and protect the status of working women, who have steadily increased their number and proportions in the work force over the past 50 years. Today 9 out of 10 women are in paid employment outside the home at some time during their lives. There are now over 27 million women in the labor force and they make up well over one-third of all workers.

Despite the vast expansion in the female work force and the entrance of women into an enlarged variety of occupations, much improvement remains to be made in the economic status of women, in work arrangements geared to women's needs, and in the elimination of employment discrimination based on sex. In particular, trade unions must devote greater efforts towards drawing more women into the labor movement, beyond the 3.4 million who are currently union members. Especially important is the organization of women in the lowest-paid occupations and industries. Therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** The AFL-CIO reaffirms its traditional support of programs to protect women against exploitation and substandard conditions of work, to eliminate discrimination in pay and in job opportunities on the basis of sex, to provide job training and re-training opportunities for women, and to promote services to ease the burdens of women who are both homemakers and breadwinners.

We pledge cooperation with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in seeking to eliminate employment discrimination on the basis of sex under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

We support the work of the State Commissions on the Status of Women which have been established in almost all states as a means of developing new recommendations for improved programs in behalf of women in the different localities of the United States.

The AFL-CIO continues to afford general support to state labor standards legislation for women workers and believes that appro-

priate safeguards under such laws are not inconsistent with equality of employment opportunities for women. Much state legislation, however, is inadequately enforced, unevenly applied and in need of revision to take account of present-day needs. We urge our affiliates to press for improved legislation and especially for universally applicable minimum wage and hour statutes covering both men and women.

We support the use of federal funds for further expansion of child-care facilities and favor additional liberalization of the child-care tax deduction available to working mothers under federal income tax provisions.

We call for expansion of maternity leave and benefit programs for women workers.

We reaffirm our opposition to the so-called Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution as an essentially destructive approach to the advancement of women's rights.

We call upon all affiliates to expand their efforts to increase the membership of women in trade unions and to encourage the full participation of women in union activities.

## METRIC SYSTEM

The metric system of weights and measures has a history closely tied to that of the United States. As early as 1790, Thomas Jefferson proposed that the metric system be considered as our national system. In 1866, by congressional action, the metric system was made legal but not mandatory. It was not popularly adopted by the general public, but it gained wide acceptance in scientific and technical fields.

On May 24 of this year, Britain announced that existing legislation would be implemented, allowing conversion to the metric system of weights and measures to be completed in ten years. Canada is currently studying the feasibility of a similar conversion. With Britain implementing conversion, approximately 90 percent of the world population will be using the metric system or be in the process of conversion to it.

Bills have been introduced in the Congress, calling for studies of the feasibility and cost of conversion to the metric system. During hearings before both the House and the Senate, industry representatives expressed concern over relief measures, which they declared would be needed to compensate firms for the costs of conversion if the metric system becomes mandatory.

American workers, it should be noted, have a high stake in the issue of conversion costs. Workers' tools would become obsolete,

education and retraining would become necessary. Therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** 1. That any government studies of conversion to the metric system recognize workers' investments in tools which would become obsolete due to conversion.

2. That worker education and retraining measures be determined by the study group.

3. That relief measures, necessary to offset costs to individual workers, be made an integral part of the findings and recommendations of the studies.

4. That organized labor be represented on any panel studying the possibility of conversion to the metric system.

## **NEWSPAPER MERGERS**

WHEREAS, The sad pattern of suspension, merger and monopoly in the newspaper industry shows no sign of abatement and the desire for monopoly profit appears stronger than the commitment to a diverse and competitive press, and

WHEREAS, Concentration of press ownership has become so great that more than 40 percent of U.S. daily newspaper circulation is controlled by some form of chain operation and more than 96 percent of daily metropolitan papers face no opposition from a competing and different ownership, and

WHEREAS, The recent suspension of the Indianapolis *Times* has left residents of the largest and capital city of Indiana without a competing newspaper, and

WHEREAS, It is now reported that New York City residents will again suffer the loss of one major daily and perhaps more, so soon after the suspension of the *Daily Mirror*, and

WHEREAS, The pattern of merger, suspension and monopoly continued virtually unchallenged by the government until the Justice Department last year initiated welcomed anti-trust action in several cities, and

WHEREAS, The Justice Department has now bestowed its blessing on a merger and consolidation involving San Francisco's newspapers in a joint production arrangement strikingly similar to one now being challenged by the department in Tucson on the ground that its approval is subject to "reconsideration" in the light of future court decisions, and

WHEREAS, Past experience suggests that any such "reconsideration" inevitably will prove to be too late to re-establish the separate facilities that had existed prior to consolidation, and

WHEREAS, With this consolidation, previously competing San Francisco newspaper ownerships have been permitted to merge the business and production operations of their daily papers under a single joint ownership and to combine their two Sunday papers into one, despite the stated policy of the Assistant Attorney General in charge of anti-trust enforcement that the principal factor in determining the illegality of a merger is its impact on competition, and

WHEREAS, Freedom of the press, so essential to a democratic society, loses its significance and force when it is divorced from competition and diversity, and

WHEREAS, The American Newspaper Guild has suggested legislation to stem the tide of merger and monopoly in the newspaper industry by insuring other purchasers the opportunity to buy a failing paper at fair market value to forestall its sale to a competitor; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the AFL-CIO Convention urges enactment of such legislation. The convention also calls upon the Justice Department to persist in its prosecution of newspaper monopoly and to refuse to grant advance approval, in one city, of merger arrangements under challenge in the courts elsewhere.

## **BANK HOLDING COMPANY ACT AND FEC RAILWAY STRIKE**

WHEREAS, The following series of events has occurred, of grave importance to public policy and the public interest:

1. The Alfred I. duPont Estate of Jacksonville, Fla., has acquired and continues to exercise control over the Florida East Coast Railway and various important industrial enterprises.
2. The duPont Estate's dominant trustee has caused the FEC Railway to defy the national railway labor policy in disputes with the FEC's employes and to refuse all pleas by the late President Kennedy, the Secretary of Labor and the Florida delegation in Congress to settle the strike of the

FEC (non-operating" employes that began on January 23 1963 and is now the longest railroad strike in history. From the beginning, the FEC strikers have sought nothing more than the same pay and conditions as all other railroaders.

3. The duPont Estate also controls the "Florida National" group of 31 banks, with assets of \$780 million. The Florida National group has advertised itself as the "largest banking organization south of Philadelphia and east of the Mississippi."
4. The Bank Holding Company Act of 1956 requires bank holding companies to register with the Federal Reserve Board and to divest themselves of control over non-banking companies, in order to prevent monopoly and unfair competition.
5. Through a specially worded definition of "company" in this act, the duPont Estate and its Florida National group of banks were exempted from the act's provisions although the duPont Estate does in fact act as a bank holding company.
6. As a result of this special exemption, the billion dollar duPont Estate empire has not been split up and it continues to exert such immense financial, industrial and political power in the state of Florida as to cause its dominant trustee to persist in his "rule or ruin" course against the FEC Railway's union employes.
7. A second special exemption in the Bank Holding Company Act has allowed another billion dollar financial-industrial empire, Financial General Corporation of Washington, D.C., to expand and flourish outside of that law, and this second exemption could also be used by the duPont Estate and other similar enterprises.
8. In the first session of the 89th Congress the House of Representatives passed an amendment to the Bank Holding Company Act, HR 7371, which not only eliminates the special exemptions for the duPont Estate and other huge financial empires, but also cancels the exemption of labor and agricultural organizations whose independent banking activities have built a solid record of service to the public welfare. This links constructive legislative action against the duPont concentration of power with a seriously destructive amendment damaging to labor, agriculture and the public interest; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges Congress to amend the Bank Holding Company Act so as both to close the so-called "duPont" and "Financial General" exemptions and retain the existing exemption for labor and agricultural organizations; and be it further

RESOLVED: That this convention pledges the fullest possible support of the entire American labor movement to the gallant Florida East Coast Railway strikers and asks all affiliates to do everything in their power to assist these strikers until they have won their just demands and an equitable settlement from their employer.

## LEGISLATIVE AND POLITICAL POLICIES

### POLITICAL EDUCATION

The involvement of union members in the political life of our nation is accepted as a legitimate and essential function of trade unionism. In the narrowest sense, every contract agreed upon through the process of collective bargaining is affected by laws and the officials who administer them. In the broad sense, the lives of our members and their families are affected daily by federal, state and local laws and administrative decisions. As American citizens first and trade unionists second, we take it to be our solemn responsibility to engage to the fullest extent and at every level of government in support of those programs which will strengthen the democratic process, benefit our nation at home and abroad and permit all Americans to live in dignity and self-respect.

We look with satisfaction on the results of the 1964 elections and on the contribution of the AFL-CIO to President Johnson's landslide victory, a net gain of two liberal senators and a gain of 51 labor-backed freshmen in the House of Representatives.

We are proud of the action of the last AFL-CIO convention which directed the Committee on Political Education to raise the alarm, early and almost alone, against extremist organizations flooding the country with vitriol and confusion. For many months before the presidential election emerged as a confrontation between liberal elements and ultra-reactionaries, committed to erasing all social welfare progress of the preceding 30 years, the AFL-CIO had fought to counteract the heavily financed and widely disseminated propaganda of irresponsible extremist organizations.

The impact of the new congressmen in the first session of the 89th Congress was dramatic and demonstrable. Without them,

much of the Administration program would have been weakened or defeated. Their influence actually extended beyond their numbers, destroying the bi-partisan conservative coalition which had crippled the Congress and permitting the passage of such long-needed legislation as medicare and other health measures, aid to education, housing and urban renewal, voting rights, immigration reform, regional development and an intensified anti-poverty program.

President Kennedy said, "Let us begin." We have begun, but we cannot afford the luxury of pausing to enjoy the fruits of the beginning.

The forces now gathering to defeat those same new congressmen include, not only the extremists, whose efforts have intensified since 1964, but the political arms of business and professional groups—the Chamber of Commerce, The National Association of Manufacturers' Business-Industry Political Action Committee (BIPAC), the American Medical Association (AMPAC)—which have now achieved maturity and experience in raising funds and developing organizations in support of anti-labor candidates.

President Johnson's legislative program is far from completion, and many of the items yet to be voted on bear most directly on the working people of the nation.

In the 1966 election just ahead, history and tradition are not on our side. Only once in this century (1934) has the party of a President failed to lose congressional seats in a non-presidential election year. The average loss in the past sixty years is 37 seats in the House of Representatives and 5 seats in the Senate. Since almost all the liberal congressmen who will be most vulnerable in 1966 are Democrats, they will be in great jeopardy.

We must accept this challenge with energy and imagination, developing new techniques to meet new situations in our complex society, remembering always our basic commitment to assist and encourage the informed, active participation of every member of the AFL-CIO in his government; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** To stimulate political interest, political education and political action among trade unionists as an essential ingredient in a democratic society, we call upon each affiliated national and international union and each state and local central body to render all assistance and support to the policies and programs of the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education.

1. We hold it to be a primary obligation of each trade union member to be a registered voter, and of affiliated national and international unions, local unions and central bodies to encourage the achievement of this goal. We commend those national and

international unions which have made a registrar or COPE chairman a constitutional officer for each local union and urge others to follow their example. Membership lists should be made available to the properly constituted COPE organization for processing in registration-and-vote campaigns, particularly in those areas where pilot projects employing data processing equipment are under way.

2. We call upon all affiliated national and international unions to designate one or more full-time staff members to work with their local unions in building effective COPE programs.

3. We urge each local union to appoint a COPE committee which will coordinate its program with the city or county COPE in its area to the end that every union member will be assisted in becoming eligible to vote and will have the opportunity to participate fully in all phases of the COPE program.

4. We commend affiliates which accept the responsibility of meeting their financial obligations to COPE. We urge those which have not to do so. COPE cannot achieve its full potential without full support. We therefore urge all affiliates (a) to accept the obligation of meeting the COPE quota, and (b) to promote the voluntary dollar drive vigorously and resourcefully.

5. The lines of communication to allied groups outside the labor movement should be carefully tended and extended. A prerequisite to our political success is a united effort with those who share common goals, such as friendly farm organizations, senior citizens and minority groups.

6. We urge the continuation and extension of those endorsement procedures which ensure broad participation by the affiliates of state and local central bodies and careful selection of candidates based only on issues and ability.

## REAPPORTIONMENT

The fight for "one man-one vote" is on the way to victory. In 1962 the Supreme Court required reapportionment of a state legislature by federal court order for the first time. In 1964 the Supreme Court went on to require that both houses of a bicameral state legislature must be apportioned on a population basis only, on a "one man-one vote" basis.

But the fight for the "one man-one vote" principle is not over yet. The conservative Republican-Dixiecrat coalition headed by Senate Republican Leader Everett McKinley Dirksen—supported by a strange coalition of conservatives, right-wing extremists, and obstinate traditionalists in the states—is making a well-financed,

last-ditch campaign to overturn and nullify the "one man-one vote" principle.

This last-ditch campaign by the defenders of the "rotten borough" system—through which cows and trees get better representation than people in state legislatures—must not succeed. The needs of the urban majority—seven out of 10 Americans—must not be short-changed by rural-dominated state legislatures.

Equal representation—"one man-one vote"—is a basic democratic principle which was violated in most state legislatures before the Supreme Court decisions of 1962 and 1964. Far too often the badly apportioned state legislatures resisted reform efforts to make them more representative. The failure of state legislatures to reapportion themselves too often enabled a small minority of over-represented rural voters to thwart the will of an under-represented majority of city and suburban voters.

The June 14, 1964 Supreme Court ruling declared:

"Legislators represent people, not trees or acres. Legislators are elected by voters, not farms or cities or economic interests. As long as ours is a representative form of government and our legislatures are those instruments of government elected directly by and directly representative to the people, the right to elect legislators in a free and unimpaired fashion is a bedrock of our political system."

Therefore, the court declared, the "equal protection" clause of the 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution "requires that the seats in both houses of a bicameral state legislature must be apportioned on a population basis," which means on the basis of "one man-one vote."

The AFL-CIO and its affiliated organizations had long urged prompt and democratic apportionment of malapportioned state legislatures, and therefore hailed the Supreme Court decisions of 1962 and 1964 as a long overdue step toward the fundamental democratic "one man-one vote" principle.

Fortunately, the fight for "one man-one vote" representation in state legislatures has made tremendous progress—largely as a result of lawsuits brought by labor organizations. Nearly half of the state legislatures have been apportioned to meet "one man-one vote" standards. Nineteen states have apportioned their legislatures so as to bring them into substantial compliance with the "one man-one vote" principle by the 1966 elections. Twelve additional states have taken action to comply with this principle, subject to final court approval. In yet 14 other states, some preliminary action to reapportion their legislatures has taken place. In four

states pending court actions challenge the present apportionment of their legislatures.

Senator Dirksen led the "rotten borough" fight for a constitutional amendment in 1964 and 1965 to stop and to reverse the "one man-one vote" trend, but fortunately these efforts were blocked by a determined group of liberal senators—backed up by a liberal coalition including the AFL-CIO and affiliated labor organizations and the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. Nevertheless, Senator Dirksen has made it clear that he will fight again in 1966 for a "rotten borough" constitutional amendment.

Parallel to the Dirksen efforts in the United States Senate, the anti—"one man-one-vote" forces in the states are rallying to continue their fight for a constitutional convention to adopt a "rotten borough" amendment. They need 34 state legislatures to get such a convention and they have got 25 state legislatures on record in support of their position. As it stands now, the battle in the state legislatures against the "rotten borough" amendment has been won. They cannot get action by the necessary 34 state legislatures. Nevertheless, pro—"one man-one vote" forces must remain on guard, prepared to continue the fight against "rotten borough" proposals in state legislatures, if necessary.

Thus, the anti—"one man-one vote" forces are pursuing two separate approaches to a "rotten borough" constitutional amendment—through congressional action and through action by state legislatures. Both of these efforts to preserve malapportioned state legislatures must be blocked.

One form of malapportionment produces another. Malapportioned congressional districts are often the result of a malapportioned state legislature, which draws the boundary lines of the congressional districts within the state.

Just as gross violations of the "one man-one vote" principle have existed in malapportioned state legislatures, similar gross violations of this principle exist in the widely varying numbers of people represented by congressmen in the U.S. House of Representatives.

The AFL-CIO and its affiliated organizations are fully and unalterably committed to the basic democratic principle of equal representation—"one man-one vote"—in the state legislatures and in the U.S. House of Representatives; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** We must continue until full and final victory our fight for fair and equal representation, and to this end we call on all AFL-CIO affiliated organizations and on rank-and-file union members to join in this fight.

We oppose the efforts of Senator Dirksen and others in the Congress who seek a constitutional amendment to overturn or to weaken the "one man-one vote" principle.

We oppose the efforts of conservatives, reactionaries, and right-wing extremists in the states who seek action by the Congress and by the state legislatures on a constitutional amendment to overturn or to weaken the "one man-one vote" principle.

We urge our affiliates and our friends to work together in the various states to make sure that no more state legislatures endorse constitutional amendments or call for constitutional amendments along the lines of the Dirksen "rotten borough" proposals and, where possible, to get appropriate action by properly apportioned legislatures to rescind previous "rotten borough" actions by malapportioned state legislatures.

Furthermore, we urge support for legislation in the Congress which would set maximum population deviation limits for congressional districts. To assure equal representation in the U.S. House of Representatives, the allowable deviation from a state's average congressional district population should be kept as small as possible.

## SENATE RULE XXII

Every day in every way the nation and the world undergo far-reaching changes. The economy changes, the population moves upward at an awesome rate; the federal government is expanding rapidly, international problems loom larger, more subtle and difficult with every passing hour. Change is the most constant factor in our lives and society—except in the United States Senate.

The United States Senate manages—often mismanages—with an archaic set of rules utterly impractical for an age of change. The most important single needed Senate rule reform is Rule XXII, which requires two-thirds of the Senate present to terminate debate. This means that a determined minority can stall the will of the Senate merely by holding the floor and talking endlessly.

This form of "rule by exhaustion" has often made sad mockery of the "greatest deliberative body in the world." Nowhere in the democratic world is there a national legislative body so shackled by the dead weight of old procedures. The English Parliament has long permitted a motion for the previous question to end debate by vote of a simple majority. The House of Representatives in the long ago past was saddled with filibusters which made it a moribund institution. In 1890 a House revolt against the filibuster instituted the motion for the previous question determined by a majority vote. Seventy years of House practice with this rule has demonstrated its usefulness, democracy and practicality.

Indeed, the House of Representatives has shown more flexibility and modernity than the Senate in the matter of rules. The House did inaugurate the 21-day rule to by-pass the often arbitrary Rules Committee; it expanded the membership of the same Rules Committee to make it more responsive to the will of the majority. But a strong and willful minority in the Senate has successfully resisted rules change in that body.

The latest example in a long history of Senate control by minority was the Dirksen-led filibuster against the repeal of 14(b). Though it is conceded that a majority of the Senate is prepared to vote for repeal of 14(b), Senator Dirksen and his allies have thwarted this majority will and prevented the bill from coming to a vote on the floor of the Senate.

The Dirksen maneuver is not a new one—since 1917 a cloture petition has been used successfully only seven times! The recitation of this glum statistic in itself does not tell the full story, for the mere threat of the filibuster has had the dismal effect of sidetracking bills supported by the majority and comprising and diluting other legislation approved by the majority.

The obsolete, malfunctioning and undemocratic Rule XXII must be altered to provide a reasonable means for a simple majority to end debate. We, of course, want the rights of the minority to be protected. We appreciate the need for ample time and opportunity for extended debate. We approve of the worthy plans suggested to achieve this end, but there must come a time when debate must end and the will of the Senate permitted to be worked.

The United States Senate must be democratized! King filibuster must be dethroned; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** We strongly urge the United States Senate to amend Senate Rule XXII to provide that after sufficient discussion in which every senator is given ample opportunity to present his view, and every protection is extended the minority, Senate debate can be concluded by a simple majority vote.

## WOMEN'S POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

Women unionists and wives of union members increasingly are participating in the programs of the COPE Women's Activities Department. Each year, they devote hundreds of thousands of volunteer hours to checking registration lists, canvassing and assisting in labor's get-out-the-vote campaigns. Their contribution is invaluable; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** That the AFL-CIO convention express its gratitude to the thousands of volunteers who give unstintingly of

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their time and effort to help labor's political education and action programs. We authorize COPE to continue and expand its Women's Activities Department programs, and we urge each state and central body to assist WAD programs in every way possible.

## HOME RULE FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Home rule for the citizens of the District of Columbia remains an unfulfilled promise. The American labor movement has long urged fulfillment of this promise so that the citizens of the capital city of the world's greatest democracy will have their democratic right to govern themselves through their own elected officials. We will continue to work for this goal until the victory is won.

In 1965 the Senate and the House of Representatives approved bills which differ widely in their approach to home rule. We favor the basic approach of the Senate bill, which embodies the basic recommendations of the Johnson Administration; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** We urge the 89th Congress to approve legislation along the lines proposed by President Johnson to restore self-government to the District of Columbia.

## EXTREMIST GROUPS

WHEREAS, The dangers of extremism are well known to all persons who are devoted to the principles of American constitutional government, and

WHEREAS, Various groups are organized and functioning across the face of our nation to promote hate and strife among peoples of all colors, creeds and ethnic backgrounds, and

WHEREAS, These groups continue, on the local, state and national level, to oppose the progress of our nation to implement our commitment to equal liberty, justice, opportunity, and dignity for all, and

WHEREAS, Totalitarian despots, supported by similar groups, have in the past brought disaster on highly civilized societies, and

WHEREAS, These organized extremist groups are centering their main efforts in the coming election campaign; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** That the AFL-CIO expand its educational efforts among its affiliates to:

1. Defend civil rights and civil liberties and such basic institutions as free public education against the attacks of the extremists.

2. Educate its affiliates as to the true danger and identity of the extremist groups through official publications, educational materials, COPE Political Memos, and Group Research Reports; and
3. Exert all possible efforts to elect to all offices, candidates who are dedicated to the ideals of American democracy and who abhor extremist saboteurs of civil and democratic human rights.

## LABOR LEGISLATION

### REPEAL OF 14(b)

Final congressional action to repeal Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act was blocked by the filibuster conducted under the leadership of Senator Dirksen. This action and the threat of its renewal when the Congress reconvenes is the epitome of political cynicism and in harsh negation of the democratic precept of majority rule. No senator or minority of senators has the political or moral right to preclude the majority of the Senate from exercising its will—to vote on the repeal of 14(b).

When the filibuster is defeated and the Senate is permitted to vote on the repeal of 14(b), it is important that the issues be defined and the motives of the opponents of repeal be understood.

The issue is not “compulsory unionism,” for repeal of 14(b) will not compel any worker to join a union. Repeal will only permit an employer and a union to negotiate an agreement of the kind authorized by the Taft-Hartley Act itself—under which no employe can be required to join a union. He can only be required to pay reasonable union dues and initiation fees.

The real issue is whether an employe who must be law receive all of the wage increases and improvements in working conditions negotiated by the union, and whose individual grievances must be processed by the union, should be permitted to enjoy these benefits without being required to pay his proportionate share of the costs of maintaining the union.

Repeal will enable unions in those states which do not have “right-to-work” laws to give their full attention to organizing the unorganized and to securing improved social legislation from state legislatures, instead of being diverted from these tasks by “right-to-work” flank attacks in state legislatures or by state referendum campaigns.

In those states which already have “right-to-work” laws—the states which include the poorest and the least organized in the nation—it will help to strengthen existing unions and to improve the incredibly hostile environment which brings violence to union

organizers, discharge to union members, and defeat to union organizing campaigns. Repeal of 14(b) is a necessary first-step to organization of the unorganized in those states, and to improvement of their working conditions and living standards.

That is the decisive issue and the members of the United States Senate must be allowed to cast their vote on it. Therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** 1. We urge the United States Senate to consider H.R. 77 as one of the first orders of business when it convenes in January 1966, and that it proceed to repeal 14(b) with every reasonable dispatch.

2. We call upon our unions to use to the fullest their educational facilities, to convey the full story and implications of 14(b) to all its members and the people of the United States.

3. We ask all our unions and members in every community and state to join with the friends of the labor movement in the churches, among the minority groups, and in the liberal community in a common and concerted effort to bring H.R. 77 to successful vote in the United States Senate.

## NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT

One of the greatest accomplishments of the New Deal was the adoption of the Wagner Act, often referred to as labor's Magna Carta. It was the Wagner Act which established as federal law the right of workers to organize, bargain collectively, strike, and engage in other concerted activities for their mutual aid and protection.

Most of the other social legislation of the New Deal period has been expanded and improved in the subsequent three decades. The Wagner Act, however, has not been improved but has been emasculated. While the nation has moved forward in many other fields, it has moved backward in the critical area of labor-management relations. Today, it is all too clear that the rights purportedly guaranteed to workers by federal law are being effectively frustrated by anti-union employers, and that workers, particularly the unorganized, have been left to the cold comfort of paper promises. Moreover, the coverage of the act has been contracted while it should be expanded. Too many employees are still entirely denied even the weak protections of the act.

This near total frustration of the national labor relations policy is recognized by the Chairman of the National Labor Relations Board. In a recent speech he declared: ". . . the national labor policy still meets determined challenge and resistance . . . the preponderance of cases filed involve clear violations of well-under-

stood sections of the law . . . Why should we, 30 years after adoption of congressional policy to protect the right to organize, still find companies firing people for trying to form a union? . . . Yet this is the great bulk of work that comes to the NLRB in 1965."

The National Labor Relations Act, and its administration by the board and the courts, suffer from four glaring deficiencies.

First, both representation proceedings and unfair labor practice cases encounter inordinate and interminable delays. Some of these delays were written into the act by Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin amendments which must be eliminated.

Second, the remedies against employer unfair labor practices are feeble to the point of insanity. These weak remedies, available only after years of delay, invite violation of the act by unscrupulous employers.

Thirdly, labor's economic weapons, which under the Wagner Act often sufficed to restrain employers from illegal acts during an organizing campaign and from bad faith bargaining, have been blunted by the unfair restrictions imposed on legitimate union activity by the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin acts.

Fourthly, the act does not reach the anti-union activities of individuals and groups, no matter how vicious and reprehensible, which cannot be proved to be agents of the employer, in the most technical sense.

The worst aspect of the labor relations law today is that employers can with virtual immunity instill raw fear in their employes—fear of job loss, fear of plant shutdown, even physical fear—if they exercise their right to join a union. Employers know that by the time the built-in delays of labor board processes have run their course, their employes are likely to have become completely discouraged in their effort to form a union. Often they will have given up by the time the labor board case is won. At worst the employer may have to comply with a board order which will be much less expensive than meeting union standards. At best the employer may get off scot-free if the union-busting campaign is cleverly done with the full bag of tricks—including a flood of leaflets disguised as "free speech" but carefully phrased to convey its message of threatened retribution.

Over wide areas the elementary goals of the Wagner Act have not been achieved. In those areas the goal of a free system of collective bargaining cannot be achieved without drastic revision of those labor laws which permit and, indeed, encourage the continued existence of systems of employer-employe relationships based on 19th Century standards. It is time, and well past time, for Congress to take a good hard look at these areas where the

elementary struggle to establish the principles of collective bargaining has not yet been won.

Too many employers are permitted to intimidate and terrorize workers who exercise their right to join a union. Too many employers have learned that endless delays in representation elections are an easy road to defeat union organization.

Congress must examine into the equality of the sanctions imposed by our laws: sanctions which permit employers and reactionary community forces to combine in a calculated and continuing course of defiance of our labor laws but which prevent workers from assisting each other in the fight to establish collective bargaining; sanctions which require the issuance of injunctions against union picketing before it is adjudged to be illegal but make optional all injunctions against employer unfair labor practices. Therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** The AFL-CIO hereby calls on Congress to review in their entirety the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act, and their interpretation and administration by the board and the courts, and to enact new provisions to make a reality of the rights purportedly guaranteed to workers by the act.

## SITUS PICKETING

WHEREAS, inequitable restrictions have been imposed upon legitimate economic activity of building and construction trades unions on construction sites by virtue of a literalistic interpretation of the picketing provisions of the National Labor Relations Act rendered by the National Labor Relations Board and followed by the Supreme Court of the United States in the Denver Building Trades case (341 U.S. 675); and

WHEREAS, legislation to eliminate these inequitable restrictions on the building and construction trades unions has been pending before Congress since 1954; and

WHEREAS, the most recent bill to achieve this result (H.R. 10027) has been favorably reported by the House Labor Committee and is now pending before the House Rules Committee and a companion bill (S. 1665) has been introduced in the Senate; and

WHEREAS, for the past fifteen years, such legislation has been given long and exhaustive consideration by both the executive and legislative branches of the government with the result that there is, and has consistently been, wide bipartisan support for such legislation, evidenced by the endorsement of such legislation by the Administrations of Presidents Truman, Eisenhower,

Kennedy and Johnson, and commitments made for a vote on the floors of Congress by Republican leaders; and

WHEREAS, Secretaries of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg and W. Willard Wirtz have both testified before Congress in favor of the enactment of corrective situs picketing legislation; and

WHEREAS, the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO has three times unanimously urged passage of situs picketing legislation for the building and construction industry and instructed the Legislative Department of the AFL-CIO to work towards this goal; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** That the AFL-CIO declare its complete and undivided support for the enactment in the 1966 Session of the Congress of the situs picketing bill (H.R. 10027) and its companion bill (S. 1665) to grant the long delayed relief to which building and construction trades workers are entitled.

# CIVIL RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES

## CIVIL RIGHTS

The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965—both strongly supported by the AFL-CIO—represent major accomplishments in the continuing effort to abolish racial discrimination in this country. But much more needs to be done before equality is a fact in this land.

The impact of the Civil Rights Act is already apparent. Widespread desegregation of public facilities and accommodations is a reality in 53 cities of over 50,000 population in southern states. Among the important new tools provided by the act are Title VI which prohibits discrimination in all programs receiving federal financial assistance, and Title VII which establishes a national Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

But good laws by themselves do not automatically solve problems, as we in the labor movement know from our own experience. The passage of the Wagner Act enabled unions to expand organization and increase their effectiveness in representing workers. But the laws had to be backed up with hard work. The unions could not and did not sit back and consider their job was done by the law.

That is just as true of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Vigorous and effective enforcement by government is mandatory if these laws are to be useful tools for eliminating discrimination and opening opportunities for minority group citizens. We intend to see to it that there is effective and vigorous enforcement.

### Education:

We take particular note of the situation with regard to education in the South. The United States Office of Education reports that the percentage of Negro children attending desegregated schools in the 11 Southern states has tripled this year. On the other hand, data compiled by the Southern Regional Council indicates that the increase from 1964 to 1965 may have only doubled. Even the 7.5 percent figure of the U.S. Office of Education, however, represents meager progress 11 years after the Supreme Court decision required public school desegregation.

There must be an accelerated pace of school desegregation. Already, children, who entered the first grade after that decision, are about to graduate from high school, having spent their entire school life in Jim Crow schools—making a mockery out of that trail-blazing decision of the Supreme Court.

The U.S. Office of Education must not accept “freedom of choice” plans at face value. Frequently there is no free choice for Negro parents and children, who face threats and harassments if they select a previously all-white school.

We contend the U.S. Office of Education must be given sufficient funds to employ adequate staff and provide adequate services to obtain compliance with the law. Where local officials fail to comply, federal funds must be cut off in accordance with procedures outlined in the Civil Rights Act.

Equal educational opportunity must be a national goal. It is an achievable goal. We must make it a reality. The challenge of de facto segregation in the North must be faced. President Johnson has ordered the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights to undertake a study of de facto school segregation. We look to the commission for positive recommendations to deal with this problem.

But we insist the problem in education is too crucial for additional delay. What America needs and must have is high quality education in its schools, both North and South, on a basis of true equality.

To achieve that goal, we reiterate President Meany's proposal, made immediately after the Supreme Court's school decision: That the United States authorize a special multi-billion dollar school fund to aid affected communities to meet this challenge. North and South alike could benefit from this proposal.

We must not let money stand in the way of eliminating segregation and discrimination in education—every place in America.

### **Housing:**

A serious and important factor in the spread of de facto school segregation in the North is the discriminatory housing practices that have fostered huge Negro ghettos, which we have long deplored and against which we will continue to battle until we have achieved equality in housing.

Executive Order 11063, issued by the late President Kennedy, banning discrimination in federal and federally-assisted housing, brought the weight and prestige of the federal government into this vital area. But this is not enough.

We urge President Johnson to extend the 1962 Housing Executive Order to cover not only Federal Housing Administration and Veterans Administration insured mortgages but also mortgage activities of all federally-assisted or federally-insured bank and savings and loan companies and to insure its vigorous implementation. Certainly the money of all Americans must not be used to deny housing to millions of them.

### **Equal Employment Opportunity:**

The establishment of a national Equal Employment Opportunity Commission under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 provides a new and vitally important tool to strengthen labor's program to insure fair and equal employment opportunity. Better job opportunities for minority workers will enable them to break out of the vicious circle that confines them to slum housing and their children to overcrowded, substandard schools. The new law as a declaration of public policy will help us to speed achievement of our policies of the AFL-CIO of equal opportunity on the job.

As we have told the Congress, Title VII needs strengthening. We intend to support legislation to strengthen this section. Until we achieve that improved law, we intend to make Title VII work.

In anticipation of the establishment of the commission under Title VII, President Meany requested all international unions to assign an international officer to work with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and other government agencies to obtain intelligent and effective compliance with the letter and spirit of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has adopted the following procedure in regard to complaints involving local unions and/or collective bargaining agreements of AFL-CIO affiliates:

A. In states which do not have an FEPC, after initial investigation by a field representative and at the time a complaint is sent to the local union involved, a copy will be sent to the national or international office of the union and to the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO.

B. In states where there is an FEPC, the commission has recommended that the state agency make a similar agreement with the AFL-CIO and its affiliates.

To implement this effort, we urge all national officers assigned to this task to give prompt attention to the processing of complaints received under this procedure and to call upon the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department for aid and assistance.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has ruled segregated local unions and separate lines of seniority and promotion based on race are a violation of the act—a position exactly comparable to the AFL-CIO position.

We call upon all affiliates with the few segregated locals that remain in existence to merge such separate locals without delay and to adopt contractual clauses that will eliminate barriers to equal opportunity for promotion and seniority for all workers.

In keeping with the five-point program adopted by the Executive Council on August 4, 1964, we also call upon all affiliates and assigned national officers to develop and accelerate programs to eliminate discriminatory practices within their industry and union, utilizing and strengthening established machinery of collective bargaining:

1) By negotiating non-discrimination clauses in all collective bargaining contracts and utilizing these clauses in all stages of the collective bargaining procedure.

2) By sensitizing the collective bargaining machinery to the problems of eliminating discrimination and providing equal employment opportunities.

### **Voting:**

The Voting Rights Act provides the means to end discrimination at the ballot box. Since its passage, over 166,000 Negroes have registered to vote in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina and South Carolina, states covered in whole or in part by the act. In the four months since the law became effective, the Justice Department has sent federal examiners into only 32 counties. That is just not good enough.

Congress has provided the means for the elimination of voting discrimination. If the 1966 elections are to take place without disenfranchisement of Negroes, the Justice Department must act promptly.

We urge the Attorney General to move without further delay to implement the will of this nation—that all its citizens have a right to vote.

### **Equal Administration of Justice:**

The administration of justice on an equal basis for all citizens is fundamental in a democratic society. Inequality in the administration of justice moreover can be a major barrier to the implementation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

After long and bitter years, in which southern juries have denied simple justice to Negroes, there have now been two instances in which justice has been served.

But still the murderers of William L. Moore, Medgar Evers, four young girls in a Birmingham church, James Chaney, Michael Schwerner, Andrew Goodman, Colonel Lemuel Penn, Jimmy Lee Jackson, Reverend James Reeb and Jonathan Daniels remain unpunished. We insist that this mockery of our judicial system be halted. We demand justice in our courts—equal justice, for all men must be equal in our courts if there is to be justice in our land.

Fundamental to this goal is the total elimination of segregation and discrimination in our jury system. The right to trial by a jury of one's peers is basic to democracy. But a jury must consist of peers; it must not be "for whites only;" therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** That the AFL-CIO facilitate and insure increased labor participation in the achievement of these objectives. We urge every affiliate to establish a functioning civil rights committee. These committees are crucial in the implementation of labor's civil rights program: providing technical assistance to workers filing complaints under Title VII; establishing basic educational programs reaching the rank and file member; forming cooperative relationships with responsible civil rights groups, religious and other community organizations, for the purpose of obtaining compliance with existing civil rights laws, and aiding local labor leadership to resist Ku Klux Klan and John Birch Society infiltration.

For equal rights and equal opportunity to be meaningful, we must have a society of full opportunity. Therefore, the AFL-CIO and its affiliates participated with outstanding Negro leaders, scholars and experts in a recent national planning session called by President Johnson.

In outlining the need for this conference, President Johnson said: "We seek not just legal equity, but human ability—not just equality as a right and a theory, but equality as a fact and equality as a result."

This has always been the goal of the AFL-CIO. We pledge ourselves to the achievement of national programs to meet the educational, housing and community needs of all citizens. Such programs will both meet the social needs of our country and its

cities and create jobs urgently needed to insure employment opportunities.

Such measures, plus a higher minimum wage, extended minimum wage coverage, and the establishment of national standards for quality integrated education and training will aid Negroes and other minorities to translate legal rights into absolute equal opportunity.

America has made great progress in civil rights in the past two years. We are proud of our role in this worthy battle.

But too much remains to be done for any of us to pause for self-congratulations. The unresolved problems are many and great. They can be met; they must be solved; they will be conquered.

Our goal is true and absolute equality of opportunity throughout America. We shall not rest until we achieve it.

### **PROTECTION AGAINST INVASION OF PRIVACY**

One of the greatest Supreme Court Justices of all times, Louis D. Brandeis, called "the right to be let alone" the "most comprehensive of rights and the right most valued by civilized men." This most valued right—the right of privacy—is in danger to America.

Government at every level, business institutions of all types, organizations and individuals with axes to grind, increasingly infringe the privacy of American citizens everywhere.

Wire tapping grows by leaps and bounds.

Electronic bugs of all kinds make wiretapping seem like child's play.

Closed circuit television monitors people innocently pursuing their daily life.

Lie detectors have become a commonplace.

Hidden microphones, tape recorders, personnel questionnaires, two-way mirrors, peepholes, cameras and spyglasses, private detectives, mail covers, all add frightening intrusions upon the privacy of each and every person.

The American public was shocked by the recent revelation that even Eleanor Roosevelt, the wife of the President, had her telephone tapped by federal agents during the last war.

George Orwell's slogan—Big Brother is Watching You—may still be gross overstatement, but the tools are now at hand to make the Orwellian slogan a tragic fact of everyday life. We allow the present trend to continue at our peril.

We in the trade union movement have felt the lash of these infringements of privacy:

Employers have used closed circuit television to watch the production lines of their employes.

Employers have used lie detectors for personnel checkups and have even sought to use them to check on union organizing activities.

Employers have monitored telephone calls of their employes.

Employers have used movie cameras for spying on workers, even a hidden camera in the men's room.

Employers have used electronic listening devices in union meeting rooms, locker rooms, and cafeterias.

We express our deepest concern over the use of these devices against the public generally and over their use against us as workers and union members. These practices and devices are a danger to our democratic society. As citizens and as workers we are determined to protect the right of privacy; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** 1. We state our unalterable hostility and opposition to surveillance of workers whether by electronic listening devices, wiretapping, closed circuit television, motion picture cameras, peepholes, or any other of the ever-growing list of such devices.

2. We record our unalterable hostility and opposition to the invasion of privacy of workers through lie detectors, personnel questionnaires into private matters and similar so-called "psychological" employment methods.

3. We call upon the trade union movement to resist with the utmost vigor all these encroachments upon human dignity.

4. We are unalterably opposed to the practices and devices listed herein, not only where they deny the privacy of workers but wherever and whenever they intrude upon the privacy of any American.

5. We call for a re-examination and revitalization of existing remedies against these incursions upon our privacy as workers and as citizens, and, if necessary, for additional legislation, federal, state and local, to protect every American in his right to privacy.

## **SOCIAL SECURITY AND COMMUNITY SERVICES**

### **UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION**

Thirty years have gone by since unemployment compensation became the law of the land, yet it has failed to realize its early promise.

The list of unrealized goals is long and dreary. Only a few cited here:

1. In 1939 when unemployment compensation benefits were first paid, in no state was the maximum benefit less than 50 percent of the average weekly wage. In mid-1965, the maximum weekly benefit was less than 50 percent of the average weekly wage in 40 states. In 1939, the maximum was more than 60 percent of the average weekly wage in 34 states. Today only one state reaches that percentage.

2. Current unemployment patterns have demonstrated that the usual current unemployment compensation duration period provided by the various states is entirely inadequate.

President Johnson noted this deeply disturbing problem when he pointed out that in 1964, one out of every five unemployed workers receiving unemployment compensation benefits was unemployed more than 26 weeks. And 1964 was a record year of prosperity!

3. State legislatures, year after year, have added layer upon layer of new disqualifications to form a massive, harsh and inequitable mosaic of penalties. Not only have disqualifications risen in sheer numbers (perhaps more than one million in 1965) but the growing severity of the punishment suggests a spirit of vindictiveness which is utterly inconsistent and inappropriate to a social security program.

Thus, in some states an offending worker who has committed the "crime" of voluntarily quitting his job, being discharged with just cause, leaving for reasons of pregnancy, etc., will not only be denied benefits through the entire period of unemployment, but will lose all of his prior wage credits and, in addition to finding a new job, must re-establish a new benefit year.

4. Approximately 15 million workers, even after 30 years, remain unprotected by unemployment compensation laws. Principally, they are employees of small employers, agricultural workers on large farms, employees of non-profit institutions and state and local subdivision employees.

These covered workers suffer the same hardships and rigors which inevitably flow from joblessness as those who are covered by unemployment compensation and therefore need the same protection of the law. The problem of providing food, shelter, clothing and the necessities of life is not one wit less onerous for the unemployed state or county workers than for the unemployed industrial workers. There can be neither equity nor sense in denying unemployment compensation rights to millions of workers on the basis of purely fortuitous circumstances pertaining to the nature of their jobs.

5. Many state unemployment compensation funds are in serious jeopardy and others are on the verge of financial distress. Part of this difficulty stems from the archaic system of employer experience rating which drastically reduced employers contributions in the past years of little joblessness when unemployment compensation reserves should have been built more securely.

Further, the taxable wage base set at \$3,000 in 1939 and which still remains unchanged has lost its original meaning and is now completely outmoded. In 1939, the \$3,000 taxable wage base covered 97 percent of all wages and salaries in unemployment compensation covered employment, while in 1965 this puny wage base reached only 53 percent of all wages and salaries. The need for sharply raising the taxable wage base is thus obvious and crystal clear.

This sorry state of affairs in unemployment compensation understandably led President Johnson, in his message to Congress on May 18, 1965, to observe:

"The system has not kept pace with the times. No major improvement has been made since its original enactment thirty years ago."

HR 8282 now in the House Ways and Means Committee is the Administration's answer to the legitimate grievances voiced against the unemployment compensation system. Briefly, HR 8282 would establish federal minimum standards applicable to all states which would:

1. Extend unemployment coverage to 5 million additional workers,

2. Pay eligible workers no less than 50 percent of their individual weekly wage, but no more than a weekly benefit amount which would be at least 50 percent of the statewide average weekly wage, which would escalate to 66 $\frac{2}{3}$  percent by July 1971,

3. Humanize disqualification penalties to provide in most situations that there be no more than a six week postponement of benefits with no cancellation or reduction of rights,

4. Add 26 weeks of unemployment compensation for those who have worked substantial periods of time in the past and who have exhausted state benefits,

5. Increase the taxable wage base from \$3,000 to \$5,600 ultimately raising it to \$6,600 in 1971.

HR 8282 does not provide a full answer to the many shortcomings of our unemployment compensation system. For example, weekly maximum benefit would not reach its final level of 66 $\frac{2}{3}$  percent of the average weekly wage in the state until July 1971. Six years is much too long to wait. Some grievous disqualification penalties, commonplace in many states, would be unaltered. Further, 10 million workers would still be left outside the sheltering umbrella of unemployment compensation. Since the federal government pays for the full cost of administering state unemployment compensation laws, it should establish decent minimal standards of compensation and working conditions to assure that competent personnel can be hired and retained.

Notwithstanding, HR 8282 represents a long and wholesome step forward toward the resolution of long-standing and justifiable complaints against the unemployment compensation system. The establishment of federal standards will commence the process of minimizing the crazy quilt variations in the 50 unemployment compensation laws; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** We earnestly call upon Congress to enact HR 8282 into law at the earliest possible date in 1966 as an important step toward the establishment of an unemployment compensation system which will adequately meet the needs of unemployed workers and their families. The health and security of our economy make this action imperative. We dare not let this unfinished task remain undone any longer.

## OLD-AGE, SURVIVORS AND DISABILITY INSURANCE AND "MEDICARE"

The Social Security Amendments of 1965 marked the most significant advance of social legislation in recent times. The passage of "medicare," old-age, survivors, and disability insurance cash benefit increases, and general improvements in the social security law reflect an increasing awareness on the part of society, not only of a greater obligation to care more adequately for our senior citizens, but also of the importance of our social insurance system as a vital part of a dynamic economy.

Organized labor played a leading role in the passage of this legislation. Now, with this successful achievement, we must turn our attention to those social needs that are still unmet. The conclusion of the "medicare" fight provides an opportunity to step up the fight to complete unfinished work, to make basic improvements in the Social Security Act, and to reevaluate our social insurance system in light of economic and technological change.

### Substantial Increases in Cash Benefits and in the Contribution and Benefit Base:

Many of our aged are living in poverty. The Social Security Administration estimates that somewhat more than a third of the nation's aged social security beneficiaries have incomes below the poverty line. The aged constitute about one-fifth of all the poor in the nation. The benefit structure of the social security program has not kept pace with the increase in the general standard of living because it has not reflected the increased productivity of the nation. Those who have helped to build our society are particularly entitled to share in the economic gains of that society. Unfortunately, benefit increases have done little more than keep abreast of the cost of living. The 7-percent benefit increase provided for in the 1965 social security amendments, for example, does no more than bring the purchasing power of social security benefits in line with the increases in the cost of living that have taken place since 1958, when the last general benefit increase was enacted.

Since social security benefits are the major, and in a great many cases the sole, reliance of our people for income security in old age, a substantial increase in the general level of social security benefits is needed.

In conjunction with such an increase in benefit levels, a substantial increase in the contribution and benefit base—the maximum amount of annual earnings that is taxed and counted for benefit purposes—is also needed. It is imperative that the base be kept up to date with changes in earnings levels; failure to do so has serious effects on the benefit protection provided under the

program because an increasing number of workers have earnings above the base amount and therefore get benefits that are related to a smaller and smaller part of their full earnings. While the increase in the contribution and benefit base to \$6600 provided by the 1965 amendments will make up some of the ground that has been lost by failure to adequately increase the base over the years, a \$6600 base only temporarily restores the situation that would have existed under a \$3600 base in 1950, the year the \$3600 base was enacted. A further substantial increase in the base is needed to restore the situation that would have existed under the original \$3000 base in 1935, the year the program was enacted.

Failure of the contribution and benefit base to keep pace with rising earnings levels also weakens the foundation of the financing of the program—the proportion of the nation's payrolls which is subject to social security contributions.

To provide the aged with the adequate living standard they deserve, social security cash benefits should be increased by at least 50 percent and the contribution and benefit base should be increased to \$15,000. Since these increases are quite substantial they may need to be accomplished in several steps over the next few years.

After the benefit levels have been substantially improved and the contribution and benefit base has been brought back in line with the increase in earnings levels that has taken place since the program began, Congress should examine the desirability of automatic adjustment of benefits to changes in prices, so that the buying power of the benefits can be maintained, and for automatic adjustment of the base to changes in average earnings levels, so that there will be no future deterioration in the proportion of annual earnings counted toward benefits.

### A Government Contribution to the Financing of the Social Security System:

In order to make the social security program quickly effective in its early years, it was the decision of the Congress to provide for the payment of full-rate benefits to people who were already old at the time their work was first covered under the program, even though only a small percentage of the actual cost of the benefits being paid to these people was met by the contributions they and their employers paid. This has been sound public policy, necessary to help prevent widespread want and destitution and to contribute to the social and economic security of the Nation as a whole. The cost to the program resulting from these payments, though—about one-third of the total cost—should not be charged to future generations of workers and their employers. It is entirely appropriate that the cost of getting into operation a national social security system from which society as a whole benefits, should be borne by the population as a whole.

### **Retirement Age:**

The social security program should recognize to a greater degree than it does now that the decision to retire varies with physiological, psychological, and occupational characteristics, and also with the state of the labor market. Greater flexibility in the age at which benefits are available to older workers would allow more rational choices based on individual circumstances. To that end, the OASDI system should attempt to establish a flexible zone of retirement from age 60 to 65 with an increasing benefit amount for each succeeding year. To the same end many older workers who are unable—because of their age, their impairments and the hiring practices of many employers—to obtain work that is related to their skills cannot get retirement benefits because they have not reached retirement age and cannot get disability benefits because of the requirement of present law that a worker must be unable to engage in any type of substantial gainful activity. The recent amendments provided disability benefits for older workers disabled by blindness if the worker is unable to engage in his usual occupation; all older disabled workers—regardless of the reason for their disability—should be permitted to qualify for disability benefits if their impairments prevent them from engaging in their usual occupation.

### **Hospital and Medical Insurance:**

The basic hospital and medical insurance programs provided for our older citizens must be improved. A first priority, however, should be to extend the provisions of the program to those who receive social security disability insurance benefits. All of the reasons for providing "medicare" for the aged apply equally to the disabled. Like the aged, these beneficiaries are a low-income, high-health-cost group and consequently have considerable difficulty in obtaining adequate private health insurance protection. Since disabled people experience a significant reduction in income and have little prospect of improving their financial position, adequate private health insurance is beyond the means of a great many of them. Also, there is no reason why in time the medicare program should not be extended to cover widows and surviving children receiving social security cash benefits and other social security beneficiaries.

The \$3.00 monthly deduction for the voluntary medical plan and undue limitations on the amount and duration of care should be eliminated and hospitals permitted to include services of certain specialists in the basic insurance plan. Despite shortcomings, the voluntary medical plan represents an excellent "buy" and we urge all those eligible to take advantage of this plan at the earliest opportunity.

### **Disability Insurance:**

Though the new social security amendments made some improvements in the disability provisions, there remain serious inadequacies in cash benefit protection against earnings lost from disability which should be met through the social security program. Under present law, disability benefits are not payable until after a worker has been totally disabled for at least 7 months and only if the disability is expected to result in death or to last for a continuous period of not less than 12 calendar months. Many workers who are totally disabled for extended periods of time are therefore not eligible for social security disability benefits. These workers are likely to be without either earnings or benefits at a time when their expenses may be unusually large. The disability provisions should be amended to reduce to 1 month the waiting period for disability benefits and to provide for payment of benefits on the basis of total disability without regard to its expected subsequent duration.

### **Other Changes:**

There are many additional improvements that should be made in the social security program; one of these should be singled out for mention. Because a greater number of years must be used in determining the average monthly wage for men, the basic benefit amount for men is generally lower than it would be for women if they had the same earnings. The period for computing benefits for men should be based, as is now the case for women, on the period up to age 62, instead of age 65 as under present law. Such a change would increase the monthly benefit amounts that would be paid to men and their dependents.

The AFL-CIO urges prompt action to secure these improvements in the social security system, including applicable provisions of the Railroad Retirement Act. Therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** 1) That social security benefits be increased at least 50 percent in order to alleviate poverty among our aged population and to permit older people to participate in the increased standard of living that they have helped to make possible, and that the contribution and benefit base be raised to \$15,000 to restore the situation that existed in the early years of the program with respect to the proportion of covered earnings taxed and counted for benefit purposes. Because of the scope of these increases they should be accomplished in several steps over the next few years.

2) That the Congress of the United States provide for the payment of contributions to the social security trust funds from general revenues.

3) That the social security program should provide flexibility by establishing a zone of retirement from age 60 to 65 with an increasing benefit amount for each succeeding year. Benefits should also be made available to older people who are below the normal retirement age and who are not totally disabled but who are no longer able to engage in their usual occupations.

4) That the "medicare" program be liberalized and broadened to include immediately those receiving social security disability benefits and, in time, all social security beneficiaries.

5) That the waiting period for disability benefits be reduced to one month and that benefits be payable as long as the total disability lasts beyond one month.

6) That the period used in determining men's retirement benefits should end at age 62 as it now does for women.

## WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

There are few social obligations more accepted than the duty to care for injured workers and their families. Unfortunately, society's acceptance of this social obligation has not secured the kind of care commensurate with the requirements of a Great Society. The first workmen's compensation law, the oldest form of social insurance, was passed more than 50 years ago. Many of the deficiencies that existed at their inception still exist today. The first social insurance now ranks last in terms of performance.

The AFL-CIO continues to support fair standards for workmen's compensation laws, as described in detail in resolutions of earlier conventions.

Too often we have found ourselves alone in the fight to secure adequate protection for injured workers and their families. Too often those who should be in the forefront of the fight to secure improved workmen's compensation legislation have avoided the duty of leadership to accept the easy road of inaction. The states which have assumed the major responsibility have failed in these obligations to injured workers. Under these circumstances the Department of Labor must take the leadership whether or not it has the support of all interest groups. Its sole concern should be the interest of injured workers. It has promulgated standards for a good workmen's compensation law. A real effort must be made to implement these standards. There is no room for timidity. This urgent need for prompt action requires aggressive and forthright leadership.

We urge the Secretary of Labor to take a position on the major issues in workmen's compensation and to recommend federal legislation necessary to implement the standards which have wide acceptance among informed persons but little or no recognition

through legislative enactment.

The greatness of our nation is not a gift. It was achieved by those of our citizens and institutions who had the courage to fight for those causes essential to a civilized society. Those who have a special responsibility for the occupationally injured have an obligation to lead the fight in behalf of the cause. Therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** The Sixth Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO requests the Department of Labor to upgrade its efforts to improve workmen's compensation laws and to support vigorously federal minimum standards to implement those workmen's compensation standards which the Department of Labor itself has recommended.

## REHABILITATION

The number of handicapped persons who are unable to function as self-reliant members of society is increasing. Advances in medical science has prolonged the lives of many individuals who on previous years would have died as a result of injury or disease and new hazards and changing technology is contributing to the increase in those persons unable to function at maximum potential.

Society must make adequate provision for the care of the disabled. Every effort must be made not only to care for this increasing number of disabled persons but to return them to productive activities. Organized labor has participated actively in the work of the National Advisory Council on Vocational Rehabilitation, the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped and similar state committees, and on the community level to promote job opportunities for the disabled. Organized labor applauds the progress that has been made in recent years by both public and voluntary rehabilitation agencies in rehabilitating the disabled, and particularly commends the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration and its Commissioner for the leadership provided in the rehabilitation field. Yet much more must be done. Therefore be it

**RESOLVED:** That the AFL-CIO reaffirm its position on rehabilitation adopted by the Fifth Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO and urges all state and local central bodies to support legislative action matching maximum amounts of state funds to available federal appropriations. Further, we urge aggressive implementation of the 1965 amendments to the Federal Vocational Rehabilitation Act and the rehabilitation amendments to the Social Security Act to the end that maximum state and local resources will be mobilized for comprehensive rehabilitation programs. Affiliated bodies are urged to actively participate in programs to identify members of union families requiring rehabilitation and to refer them to sources of services, to work for the

establishment of citizens' advisory councils where they do not exist, to assist in the placement of disabled workers, and to actively support community rehabilitation programs. The experience garnered by such labor rehabilitation projects as that of the Sidney Hillman Health Center in New York City, by the New York City Central Labor Council and by the Iowa Federation of Labor should be widely disseminated and affiliated bodies should work closely with the National Institutes on Rehabilitation and Health Services and the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration in order to initiate and organize similar projects wherever feasible.

## OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH

In 1964, the production loss from sickness and other factors related to ability to perform on the job accounted for a loss of production equal to about 7 percent of the gross national product. Yet, 80 percent of America's workers are employed where there is no type of occupational-health service.

Changing conditions in America have made the protection of worker's health a national responsibility. Every day of the year, 24 new chemical materials are released by industry into the environment. These are tasted, touched, breathed by workers. Many of them have already been determined to exert toxic effects on human beings. The biological effects of others remain to be determined. Radon gas in the uranium mines has already taken a fearful toll of miners' lives. Other toxic materials such as the dusts of coal, asbestos, beryllium and cotton, as well as carbon monoxide and industrial cancer-causing chemicals are threatening the health and the lives of workers exposed to them.

In spite of these mounting hazards, federal and state efforts to protect workers' health have been characterized by inadequacy and indifference.

The Division of Occupational Health of the United States Public Health Service, with active participation by labor's representatives, now proposes a five-year occupational health program, with the goal of eliminating or controlling any factor on the job that is damaging to workers' health, and to promote good health and prevention of job-induced illness among workers. Therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** 1. We support the general goals embodied in the Division of Occupational Health's five year program, and its proposal to increase federal financial support for such a program from the present level of \$11 million to \$50 million annually.

2. The national responsibility for this program should be squarely placed on the Division of Occupational Health, in coordi-

nating and expanding federal occupational health activities, and obtaining active support and cooperation from other levels of government, labor and industry.

3. Direct federal enforcement should include all occupational health programs of direct national responsibility—such as merchant seamen, Coast Guard personnel, federal employes, American Indians, workers on government contracts and migratory farm workers.

4. The program should provide health protection and preventive services to all workers, including the 60 percent of total U.S. work force in small plants.

5. Expanded research should be undertaken to establish causal relationships between new industrial materials and environmental conditions and health hazards, and in order to establish national standards to abate or eliminate such conditions.

6. Since such a program can stand or fall on the effectiveness of its enforcement, the proposed program should be geared to reinvigorating state occupational health programs by federal grants-in-aid and other forms of assistance.

We urged that the strongest performance criteria be established by the federal government as a condition for providing such federal assistance to any state.

We also urge that unless the states proceed to demonstrate their willingness and ability to undertake and firmly enforce occupational health programs, the federal government should not only carry out its proposed program to establish national standards and criteria in this field, but enforce them at the plant level, where interstate commerce is affected.

## NEGOTIATED AND COMMUNITY HEALTH PROGRAMS

There are about 120 million wage and salary workers and their dependents covered by some form of insurance or prepayment plan for hospitalization. About 110 million are covered for surgery, over 90 million for regular medical, and more than 40 million for major medical expenses.

Recently, many AFL-CIO affiliates have demonstrated increased interest in coverage for dental care, vision care and drugs. About 2 million people are now covered by some form of dental insurance. Possibly twice as many are covered by various eye care programs. Interest in drug prepayment plans is growing.

There are five ways in which medical, dental, vision and drug benefits can be financed. In order of preference they are:

1) Through a comprehensive direct service group practice plan which assumes responsibility for the entire spectrum of health services.

2) Through direct service arrangements where the union or consumers contract directly for medical, dental, vision and drug services from a panel of doctors, dentists, optometrists, or pharmacists.

3) Through nonprofit professional service organizations such as the various Blue Shield plans, the dental service corporations, the vision service corporations, or the pharmaceutical service corporations.

4) Through payment by a health and welfare fund directly to the providers of the service on a fee-for-service basis or by indemnity payments to the members for the cost of services received (self insurance).

5) Through commercial indemnity insurance.

The principles of the commercial indemnity insurance which are designed to cover well defined catastrophic type risks beyond the control of the insured are not principles which are suited to providing routine medical, dental, vision or drug benefits. Going to a doctor, dentist, optometrist or druggist is very much under the control of the individual. Utilization of all health services and particularly of preventive services should not be deterred by deductibles and co-insurance. Therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** 1) All health services should be provided whenever possible on a direct service basis utilizing full-time salaried professionals. Preference should be given to providing comprehensive health care in an organized setting such as a comprehensive health plan.

2) Where geographic dispersion of the membership makes direct service programs impractical, consideration may be given to nonprofit professionally controlled plans, to commercial indemnity plans or to self insurance. However, arrangements with such third parties should include a "dual choice" provision so that members may have an opportunity to receive medical, dental, vision and pharmaceutical services from direct service plans where they exist or may be developed.

3) Where third parties are utilized, procedures should be established which will provide reasonable assurance that the medical, dental, vision and pharmaceutical services are of the best possible quality.

4) Professional service corporations should be urged to provide union and subscriber representation on the governing bodies of such plans.

5) Whenever possible, medical, dental, vision and drug programs should be organized on a community basis for the mutual benefit of all union members and others residing in the area of services. Central labor bodies are urged to assume responsibility for education in medical economics and for stimulating interest in direct service health programs.

6) All national and international unions, state and local central bodies are urged to support and assist in the development of all efforts to safeguard the health of American workers.

## MENTAL HEALTH

Presidents Kennedy and Johnson have proposed a bold new program to combat and to prevent mental illness. The program has been implemented in the Community Mental Health Centers Act of 1963 and in the 1965 amendments to the act. As amended, the legislation provides funds for the construction and initial staffing of community mental health centers. This program is a tremendous step forward, particularly with regard to federal participation in the financing of mental health services. However, the magnitude of the mental health problem suggests increased financial support and cooperation will be needed from state and local governments, from private sources and through collective bargaining.

In bargaining for mental health benefits, great caution must be exercised to assure that negotiated mental health programs will not inhibit needed experimentation in treatment methods, will not freeze existing patterns of fee-for-service, solo practice, face-to-face individual therapy and will not subsidize unnecessary and inappropriate care. Experience with "major medical" type indemnity programs has demonstrated these weaknesses in making mental health services of assured quality available to the membership. A number of AFL-CIO affiliates have been instrumental in developing direct service mental health programs which avoid these pitfalls.

Special attention should be given by all affiliates to the potentialities of contracting for mental health services directly from the community health centers as they are constructed and staffed under the Community Health Centers Act. Special attention should be given as well to the potentialities of integrating organized mental health programs with organized comprehensive medical care plans, including those of union health centers. The ease of referral and consultation, the possibilities for alternative treatment methods such as group therapy, the emphasis on preventive services and the concern with continuity of care, combined with the lack of financial barriers, can make an ideal setting for providing mental health services. The realization of these

goals requires full cooperation of both government and voluntary organizations in community planning. Therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** 1) That the AFL-CIO will vigorously support federal, state and local legislation to provide funds for the operation of community health centers and other programs that show promise of making comprehensive mental services more widely available for all people.

2) That we urge these community health centers to make their services available directly to community and labor groups through the prepayment device.

3) That all affiliates be urged to work toward the provision of mental health benefits on a direct service basis through an organized setting such as the community mental health centers or through comprehensive health plans.

4) That central labor bodies are urged to lend their support to developing citizen organizations that can give leadership in planning and promoting better mental health programs. Community Services Committees are likewise urged to encourage the fuller use by trade unionists of community mental health facilities of all kinds and to prepare labor representatives to serve effectively in community mental health efforts.

## **HEALTH LEGISLATION**

The 1965 Amendments to the Social Security Act is the most impressive achievement in health legislation that has ever been passed by Congress. For this reason, other significant health legislation which has passed the 88th and 89th Congress has received less attention than its importance deserves. The achievements of the Great Society program in the field of health include a 5-year grant program for community aged care projects which projects may include health care. The Appalachia and Economic Opportunity Acts provide funds for projects designed to bring the benefits of modern medicine to those now living below the poverty level. The Community Health Act extends and liberalizes the immunization assistance program. Special controls have been established for certain psychotoxic drugs with potential for abuse. A program of grants-in-aid for medical libraries has been established. Federal funds for medical schools, scholarships and loans for medical students has been passed, and more federal money will be made available for medical school construction. Community mental health centers will have tax monies for staffing. Regional medical complexes for research and treatment of heart disease, cancer and stroke are to be established, as well as funds for the construction of research facilities. A water pollution control measure has also become law.

Despite all these accomplishments, we are still a long way from making comprehensive health care services available to all Americans. Rising costs have priced medical care beyond the reach of millions, including particularly persons of low and modest income, many of whom have no health insurance or very limited coverage. While modern technology makes better care possible, its high cost actually makes it less available. For the disadvantaged, the unemployed and the chronically ill, costs are prohibitive.

An important factor contributing to the problem is outmoded and unsatisfactory systems of organization and distribution of health services. The new health programs move in the right direction, but they also put additional pressure on the available supply of physicians, nurses, and other paramedical personnel. There is a need for increased medical manpower and for more efficient and economical methods of organizing the use of existing personnel for the provision of medical care services. The present patterns of specialized, fragmented, stratified and segmented care must be displaced by patterns that will emphasize cooperation and continuity. Therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** That the AFL-CIO will support federal legislation designed to increase medical manpower, to bring about a more rational organization of medical care services, to make medical services more widely available and to distribute the cost of quality care more equitably throughout the whole population.

We should take the initiative, and unite with other progressively minded elements in the nation, in devising and promoting a medically advanced and economically sound national health care program—a public program which will replace our fragmented, costly, inefficient and inadequate arrangements for health care with an acceptable nationwide program of comprehensive, high-quality health services which is accessible to all Americans.

## **NATIONAL HEALTH FUND**

**WHEREAS**, The AFL-CIO believes in the need for strong and effective voluntary health agencies that serve the needs of all people, including the men and women of organized labor, and

**WHEREAS**, The AFL-CIO recognizes that most health agencies perform useful functions in the area of research, training, public education and, in some instances, direct service, and

**WHEREAS**, The AFL-CIO actively supports the principle of federated fund-raising in the broad field of health and welfare, and

WHEREAS, The role of government has expanded greatly during the past several years in the areas of basic research and training, and legislation has been adopted which will further expand the role of government in the health field, and

WHEREAS, Existing voluntary health agencies with their single-disease approach and their competition for the contributor's dollar have not re-aligned their program goals in relation to the increasingly important role that has been assigned to the governmental agencies; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO reaffirms its policy in support of the federation of appeals for voluntary support of health and welfare agencies, national and local

RESOLVED: That there be established a voluntary federation of voluntary independent health agencies into a national health fund for the purpose of: a) raising funds for all member agencies once a year, b) allocating such funds on the basis of relative need, and c) coordinating basic medical research programs; and be it further

RESOLVED: Until a national health fund is established, the AFL-CIO, through its Community Services Activities, will continue to work with the voluntary health agencies in the development of their worthwhile programs and services; and be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO, through its Community Service Activities, will work in cooperation with the national voluntary agencies toward the development in selected communities of local federations of voluntary health agencies, on a trial basis, for the purpose of joint planning, fund-raising and budgeting. Standards for such local health federations should include representative policy-making boards drawn from the community at large, inclusion of relevant local needs in the budgeting and allocation of funds, and emphasis on community health education and direct service programs; and be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges all voluntary health agencies to place greater emphasis on serving the needs of the local community through the development of new and more effective means of community health education, as well as new approaches and increased attention to direct service programs—directed especially to the poor, the deprived and minority groups.

## PENSIONS

Protection against the economic hazards of unemployment, death and disability, and old age for all people, has been one of the major objectives of the labor movement. Since 1935 when the Social Security Act was first passed, benefits under the federal program have been extended and improved. However, in spite of the most vigorous support by labor, retirement benefits under Social Security have not increased as rapidly as wages, and in fact the relationship of OASDI benefits to earnings before retirement has declined. Consequently, we have devoted substantial efforts to supplementing OASDI benefits by private pension plans under collective bargaining. The growth of such programs has been a spectacular achievement for the labor movement which has benefited all workers. Today, private pension plans cover 25,000,000 employees!

However, these achievements have not blinded us to the limitations of private pension plans in providing an adequate retirement income for retirees. A substantial number of people covered by private pension plans never qualify for benefits because of their failure or inability to meet the eligibility requirements for vesting. Even where employees meet minimum vesting requirements very few receive a full benefit based on substantial service with one employer. According to Department of Labor estimates, only about 40 percent of the men and 20 percent of the women over age 60 have 20 years of service or over with the same employer.

Coverage under private pension plans is uneven. While about 80 percent of the workers in manufacturing, transportation, public utilities and mining are covered by private pension plans, only about 10 percent of the workers in the service industries have such protection. The loss of pension credits when plants shut down or when there are company mergers or acquisitions is a continuing problem.

Various legislative proposals and treasury regulations have been proposed which would affect the provision and tax exempt status of private pension contributions and benefits. These require thorough study before their implications are clearly understood. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO Social Security Committee be directed to study and to make recommendations to the AFL-CIO Executive Council with particular reference to two problems:

- 1) Federal legislative standards in the areas of vesting, funding and investment of pension reserves.
- 2) The feasibility of establishing a central clearing house to provide for the portability of pension credits when employees change jobs.

## PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

The war on poverty has aroused the conscience of the nation. Yet, the fact is that the level of assistance to those on public aid is well below the poverty level for a family of four in all state jurisdictions. Improvements in public assistance in recent years provide federal funds for social services designed to prevent and reduce dependency and to promote self-reliance. There are also federal funds under the poverty, manpower and area redevelopment programs. Together these various approaches will enable many on public assistance to break the vicious cycle of poverty.

Regardless, however, of the advances that may be made toward eliminating dependency among those capable of work, the fact is that most of those on public assistance are the very old, the fatherless young, the blind and disabled. For these, the casualties of social and economic forces, the victims of happenstance or accidents beyond their control, an affluent society reluctantly allocates a pittance surrounded by humiliating barriers to eligibility.

A number of states have not yet improved their programs to the full extent possible under the 1962 Public Welfare Amendments. Also, since portions of the Act expire on that date, they will have to be re-enacted.

A substantial number of improvements were made in the various titles to the Social Security Act dealing with welfare in the 1965 amendments to the law. Among these were a number of improvements which will require legislative implementation by the states. Possibly the most important of these are the provisions designed to bring the benefits of modern health and medical care to all needy people and comprehensive health care to children in areas with concentrations of low-income families. Therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** 1) That the AFL-CIO will support efforts to increase public assistance grants to an amount which will ensure no person, child or family will be required to live below the level of poverty and that these needs should be met in a dignified humane manner.

2) That efforts be made by the AFL-CIO and its state central bodies to work for the elimination of resident, lien, legally responsible relative and other restrictive state requirements designed to deny even these substandard payments to many in need.

3) That efforts be made by the AFL-CIO and its affiliates to inform the public about the important role that public assistance can play in guaranteeing at least a minimum floor of income for all Americans.

4) That the AFL-CIO and its affiliated state central bodies lend full support to the various states in passing legislation to implement all the various welfare improvements in the 1962 Public Welfare Amendments and in the 1965 Amendments to the Social Security Act, and that the AFL-CIO calls upon the states to implement the amendments in the broadest possible manner.

## CONSUMER PROTECTION

The AFL-CIO takes a broad interest in consumer interest programs in behalf of its 13 million union members and their families who comprise a significant portion of the buying public.

Through consumer counseling services it seeks to educate; through support of the co-operative movement, it seeks to bring direct economies to consumers, and through legislation it seeks general reforms in the market place to promote the safety of consumer products, to make sure that products are honestly and adequately labeled and that they are available at reasonable prices. And the AFL-CIO has supported full representation of the consumer in the highest councils of government.

Much legislation enacted in the past session of the 89th Congress has been indirectly beneficial to consumers, but little has been accomplished in the way of specific consumer-interest statutes. Much useful material has been opened up through new congressional investigations which may eventually produce additional reform.

But most of the current consumer legislative agenda has been on the boards for years. Legislation to require disclosure of true interest rates on consumer installment credit was first introduced in 1960. And legislative proposals to cure the chaos in consumer product packaging date from 1962.

The wage-earning family can ill-afford the waste of hard-earned dollars on products in the market place that do not give full value for the money paid out, are unsafe to use, are deceptively presented, or are exorbitantly priced. The consumer's right to safety, the consumer's right to be informed, the consumer's right to choose among a variety of products at fair prices, and the consumer's right to be heard remain as goals in the Great Society. Therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** That this convention reaffirms the commitment of the AFL-CIO to the interest of the consumer, both for its own membership and for the public at large.

We extend continuing support and fraternal friendship to the co-operative movement of this country, which has performed highly useful services to working families, especially through credit unions, housing co-operatives and medical care co-operatives.

We pledge our resources and support to the cause of consumer education, especially through AFL-CIO consumer education programs and through special programs geared into the war on poverty. We commend the Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs for leadership in this area.

We ask for prompt congressional action to enact a "truth-in-lending" bill, which will require lenders to make a full disclosure of financing charges on consumer credit, both in terms of dollars and cents and in terms of true percentage annual rates.

We urge prompt enactment of a "truth-in-packaging" bill to stop deceptive labeling and packaging of consumer products and to establish ground rules for reasonable standards for weights and measures in consumer products.

We urge the Congress to act on proposals to close the loopholes in the Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetics Act, especially by requiring cosmetics to be pretested for safety before release to the consumer market and by requiring medical devices to be tested for safety and usefulness before sale. We oppose legislative proposals to erode the protections afforded by the Food and Drug Act, sponsored by special-interest groups, such as the "candy bill" offered by confectionery and vending machine interests, which would cheapen candy and increase hazards to children from swallowing inedible substances.

We ask that legislation be enacted to require federal inspection of all meat for safety and wholesomeness, whether or not the meat moves in interstate commerce.

We urge the establishment of federal safety standards and a grading system for automobile tires.

We ask that the Federal Trade Commission be given increased authority to move quickly against misleading advertising. Under present conditions such advertising is frequently allowed to continue for years after complaint is made.

We ask that the machinery for consumer representation in government be strengthened.

We urge that the Congress conduct a study of "trading stamps," widely used as a promotional service in grocery stores, filling stations and drug stores, to ascertain their actual worth to the consumer and their impact upon consumer prices.

The issue of excessive prices for prescription drugs deserves revived attention from the Congress and we urge that investigations to be reopened.

We again express opposition to enactment of any federal resale price maintenance legislation, under whatever label it may be

offered, whether "fair trade," "quality stabilization" or other misleading title. Such legislation, by allowing private manufacturers to fix wholesale and retail prices on branded merchandise can only result in increased costs to consumers.

## CONSUMER COUNSELING

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO, as the representative of the economic interests of American working men and women as producers of goods and services, is deeply concerned about the interests of workers as consumers. Consumers deserve to get full value for every dollar they spend. Yet, in the confusion of the American market place, it is difficult, if not impossible, for the average worker to be a skilled consumer. Yet, the consumer who is unskilled in buying techniques is as disadvantaged as the worker without a union, and

WHEREAS, The Administration has recognized the problem of the consumer and the President has designated a Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs under whose sponsorship considerable activity is being developed which is directed at informing and protecting the consumer. The work of the Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs has underscored the need to acquaint the public with the many consumer services now available from the federal government, as well as the need to establish a more co-ordinated and efficient consumer information program. It has also been made clear that there is an urgent need for more and better informational and educational programs directed toward persons with limited incomes, the elderly, the non-English speaking and the poorly educated, and

WHEREAS, Organized labor long ago recognized that union members need to be informed about the market place as well as about the legal protections which are afforded to them under existing law, if they are to use their dollars wisely to provide better lives for themselves and their families. They need to know how to plan sensibly for family spending and saving; they need to understand the general techniques that can be used to buy the most for their money, and they need specific information about buying specific products; they need to understand about borrowing money and interest rates, and about credit and installment buying; they need help in buying or renting a home and in buying all types of insurance—personal, auto and home. The union member needs to know about the union label and what it means to him as a consumer, and

WHEREAS, To this end AFL-CIO Community Service Activities, in cooperation with the Union Label and Service Trades Department, has developed a three-pronged consumer counseling

program designed to make basic consumer information available to union members and their families. This program includes:

1. Consumer information courses dealing with the major areas of information required by union members and their families to be intelligent consumers. These courses consist of weekly two-hour sessions held over a period of eight to ten weeks.
2. Conferences on consumer problems designed to deal with specific consumer needs or to stimulate interest about consumer problems among union members.
3. Consumer clinics, in union headquarters, manned by reputable experts, open to union members who need advice on specific problems. Consumer clinics are intended to provide members with a resource to which they can turn when they become involved in consumer problems which require legal or expert guidance, and

WHEREAS, Through a large-scale consumer counseling program, essential information can be directed to union members and their spouses on "How to Buy the Union Label Way"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That this convention urge that every effort be made to expand the consumer counseling program of the AFL-CIO Community Service Activities, and recommend that all international and national unions and state and local bodies co-operate with the AFL-CIO Community Service Activities in bringing the benefits of this program to their members by publicizing this program through all available channels and by urging their members to participate in this program.

## TRAFFIC SAFETY

Automobile accidents rank as one of the four leading causes of death in this country. While millions of dollars are spent on cancer and heart research, we continue to ignore these dramatic statistics:

Over 47,800 people were killed on our nation's highways last year.

Close to 5 million people were injured in automobile accidents last year.

Approximately 50 times as many people died in automobile accidents as died in airplane accidents last year.

The U.S. Air Force loses more of its men in auto accidents each year than in aircraft accidents.

What is even more significant is that the deaths per 100 million miles traveled rose from 5.3 in 1962 to 5.5 in 1963 to 5.7 in 1964. If the current increase in the traffic fatalities rate continues, deaths will rise to 100,000 a year by 1975. The figures are appalling, yet the slaughter goes on.

Altogether too few of our state governments are coming to grips with this problem of initiating realistic programs to protect the millions of Americans whose lives are directly affected by the automobile. Action at the federal level has also been completely inadequate.

We are pleased to note that the Senate Committee on Government Operations has commenced public hearings on the role of the federal government in the field of traffic safety and accident prevention programs. These hearings which are being conducted by the Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization under the chairmanship of Senator Abraham Ribicoff intend to examine and review from top to bottom those agencies—both public and private—federal, state and local—which direct and support the nation's traffic safety efforts. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED: We commend Senator Ribicoff and his colleagues for initiating these hearings. We look forward to cooperating with this congressional committee in its efforts to study this problem and recommend corrective legislation.

## WALSH-HEALEY SAFETY

We are pleased to note that Secretary of Labor Wirtz has recently appointed a 12-member Ad Hoc Safety Program Advisory Committee to review Department of Labor safety programs and to make recommendations for their improvement. Labor has three representatives on this committee which was set up pursuant to a recommendation made by the AFL-CIO at public hearings held during March 1964 on the proposed revisions of the Safety and Health Standards under the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act.

In its testimony at the 1964 public hearings, the AFL-CIO strongly recommended that the Secretary of Labor brief the Congress on the true needs for an effective Walsh-Healey safety program and request additional budget to provide the number and quality of staff safety engineers necessary to carry out an adequate safety inspection program for the 15 million workers employed under federal contracts. Our recommendation was based on the plain fact that the Wages and Hours Division has never possessed the manpower or budget to even begin to do an adequate job of carrying out its safety responsibilities under the Walsh-Healey Act.

At the present time there are only ten safety engineers employed by the Wages and Hours Division to inspect the 30,000 industrial establishments which come under this act. During the past year they have been able to make only 1600 inspections and found 90 percent of the establishments in violation. If this disgraceful condition continues, it is entirely possible that it may be 18 or 20 years before a federal safety engineer returns to the plants he inspected during the past year.

It is obvious that the newly appointed Ad Hoc Safety Program Advisory Committee, after reviewing the present inadequate safety programs of the Department of Labor, should recommend an expanded and effective safety program. Therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** That we believe there are certain fundamental principles upon which such a program should be based.

1. There must be federal standards. This is a federal program and the responsibility of a federal agency. No such agency charged with the duty of requiring a safe work place for workers on federal contracts can carry out such a duty without defining its terms. Nor would it be fair to workers or to the industrial community not to do so. Such standards should be reasonable and no more burdensome than necessary to assure the safety of the workers involved. We believe that standards based on generally accepted codes fit this description.

2. Adequate resources and manpower must be assigned to the program. The moral and legal responsibility is clear; and no administrator should be charged with such a responsibility without being furnished the resources necessary to do the job.

## COMMUNITY SERVICES

WHEREAS, The objective of the AFL-CIO community services program is to promote the happiness and effectiveness of the union member in his activities as parent, worker, consumer, citizen and community volunteer. The AFL-CIO through its community services program has encouraged its affiliated unions and their members to be concerned with those larger community factors that strengthen family life, promote health, make leisure time meaningful, and

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO through its community services program has helped union members to become informed on community issues and problems affecting their well-being, and to assume their equal responsibility for extending and improving the quality and accessibility of health and welfare services, especially to those in need, and

WHEREAS, Union members working through the AFL-CIO community services program have played an important part in building better communities by serving on the policy-making boards and committees of the voluntary agencies and appointive public advisory boards and helping to shape the policies of these agencies to respond more effectively to the human needs of people; by substantial and wholehearted support of united funds and community chests which has enabled the agencies financed by funds and chests to serve their communities better; by working with other groups on such urgent community problems as helping the unemployed, raising welfare standards, developing programs to combat juvenile delinquency and other problems of young people, planning for services for the aging, helping to meet the health needs of the community and in planning for new services and the extension of existing services as new community needs have arisen; by sponsoring or working with community projects in the anti-poverty program; by sponsoring union counselor training courses so that union members and their families could know more about and use more effectively the available health and welfare agencies, services and facilities; by encouraging union members to learn how to stretch the family income by becoming more knowledgeable consumers through consumer information programs.

These are some of the benefits which have accrued to union members, their families and the community because of the active participation of union members in the affairs of their communities; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** That the AFL-CIO reaffirms its commitment to strengthening our communities in the areas of health, welfare and recreation by encouraging its affiliated unions and their members to carry forward the following programs and activities:

1. Encourage equitable labor representation on agency boards and committees, both public and voluntary.
2. Stimulate labor participation in formulating agency policies and programs through board members' training programs.
3. Assist union members, their families and other citizens in time of need, particularly during strikes, layoffs and unemployment.
4. Plan for union participation in local civil defense and disaster relief programs.
5. Assist in the planning and development of health and welfare and recreational services to meet existing community needs

in such areas as mental health, alcoholism, aging and the aged, youth, leisure time, blood banks, rehabilitation, fluoridation and community health education and public assistance.

6. Participate in community service projects of the anti-poverty program.

7. Coordinate fund-raising drives, through voluntary federation whenever possible, for voluntary health and welfare services.

8. Cooperate with other agencies in dealing with and in solving social and health problems.

9. Participate in all genuine efforts designed to improve social work standards and practices.

10. Assist union members to carry forward their community responsibility more effectively through union counsellor and community leadership training programs; and be it further

**RESOLVED:** That this convention urge:

1. All national and international affiliates to establish community services departments with full-time staff wherever possible.

2. All state and city central bodies to establish community services committees with full-time staff wherever possible.

3. All local unions to establish community services committees.

4. All affiliates to extend full cooperation to the national committee and department in the development of its policies and programs.

## **VOLUNTARY FUND-RAISING**

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO acknowledges the important work which voluntary health, welfare and recreational agencies play in our society in that they provide a series of necessary services to the community, some of which can only be provided through voluntary channels and others which serve to supplement existing public services, and

WHEREAS, To the extent that the services of these agencies are available to all the people they also serve the members of organized labor and their families, and

WHEREAS, In recognition of the importance of voluntary agencies, AFL-CIO members have been and will continue to give

their generous support to our voluntary health, welfare and recreational services, and

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO has endorsed the principle of federated fund raising in support of these voluntary agencies and has urged the members of organized labor to contribute through community chests and united funds; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** That the AFL-CIO reaffirms its policy in support of federated fund raising through community chests and united funds; and be it further

**RESOLVED:** That the AFL-CIO, through its Community Service Activities and through local central labor councils, continue to advocate the extension of the democratic processes in the administration of chests and funds through broad-based community representation of their policy-making boards and committees, through a budgeting process which allocates funds on the basis of relative need, and through support of national agencies on a fair share basis.

## **LEISURE TIME**

WHEREAS, It is generally recognized that automation and computers will facilitate the movement toward shorter hours. With the shorter workweek, the shorter workday and longer vacations, American workers will be faced with increased leisure, and

WHEREAS, Organized labor feels that it is essential that working men and women be given every opportunity to make the most of their leisure—opportunity for self-improvement, for expanding awareness, for community service, and

WHEREAS, It is organized labor's belief that government has a large and important role in leisure time programs. It is the responsibility of government to meet the needs of all the people for recreational facilities and service, and for providing educational opportunities for continuing education for adults. At the same time organized labor recognizes the important role that voluntary agencies assume in both supplementing government in leisure time activities as well as developing leisure time programs on their own, and

WHEREAS, Many unions have traditionally provided recreational, cultural and leisure time programs for union members and

their families and frequently such programs have been open to other citizens, and

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO Community Services programs has given active cooperation to governmental and voluntary agencies serving in the recreational and leisure time field, and has co-operated with union recreational and leisure time programs; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That all AFL-CIO affiliates are urged to continue and extend their recreational, cultural and community service programs in cooperation with the AFL-CIO Community Services Activities, whenever possible, to provide their members and their families with a varied program of leisure time activities; and be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO Community Service Activities continue to work with governmental and voluntary agencies at all levels, in the recreational, cultural and community service fields toward the end of providing a variety of leisure time activities for union members and their families.

## BLOOD BANKING

WHEREAS, The use of blood in medical care has been increasing, and its value in the saving of lives grows with each advance in medical knowledge, and

WHEREAS, Public support by participating citizenry on a voluntary basis is our surest and safest source of blood, and

WHEREAS, Blood banking which is not based on voluntary givers, through a comprehensive program of non-profit banks, threatens the supply of safe and abundant blood, and

WHEREAS, The continued fragmenting of blood banking into uncoordinated and competing units can only be detrimental to national health, and to our needs in the event of any national emergency; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO continue to urge adoption of one national comprehensive voluntary and non-profit blood bank system;

That the AFL-CIO discourage participation by union or union members in commercial blood banks, whether open or disguised as blood insurance plans;

That the AFL-CIO commends the American Red Cross for its

progress to date in providing the nation with the nearest we have to a comprehensive national program, based on voluntary donors only, and, with a program based in broad citizen participation;

That the AFL-CIO calls upon the American Red Cross to aggressively extend its present system of regional blood banks into areas not now served by a sound program; and be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO pledge support of this organization to these fundamental blood bank principles:

A. That blood and blood derivatives be available without cost for the blood itself;

B. That hospital and laboratory charges for blood administration and testing be kept to a minimum;

C. That all blood banks operate under the uniform licensing standards of the United States Public Health Service;

D. That there be no segregation of blood or blood derivatives on racial lines;

E. That blood coverage include the family of the individual, with the broadest possible definition, and that provision be made to provide blood as a community service to those who cannot donate;

F. That research in blood be extended;

G. That coverage of donor groups be extended to the national membership of the group;

H. That all blood banks have participation of labor and the general public on the policy-making body, as representatives of donors and users of blood;

I. That all blood banks stress in a joint educational effort the key role of the voluntary donor.

## COMMUNITY PROGRAMS FOR THE AGING AND AGED

WHEREAS, There are today more than 18 million Americans over 65 years of age, and another 17 million between 55 and 64 years of age, the needs of the older and retired worker is a continuing concern of the AFL-CIO and its affiliates. The AFL-CIO is pledged to continue to work through collective bargaining,

legislative and community action for programs that will enable older and retired workers to live healthy, meaningful lives, and

WHEREAS, In addition to providing such essential safeguards for the retired worker as adequate assured retirement income, pre-paid health care and low-cost housing of good quality, there are other requirements that are necessary for satisfactory retirement, many of which can be met in the local community, either through the local union or through community-sponsored services. Such services include, among others, programs of pre-retirement education to help the worker plan for his retirement years, senior citizen centers to provide educational, recreational and social programs for his retirement; opportunity to pursue meaningful activity within the widest range of cultural, recreational and community activity, and

WHEREAS, Many workers enter retirement unprepared for the changes that they will face in this new phase of their lives. Many have given little thought to such problems as how they will live on reduced income, how they can maintain good health in retirement, living arrangements, what they will do with the leisure time, and how they can continue to be useful productive citizens in their communities and unions, and

WHEREAS, In retirement the worker should be enabled to continue to have a sense of personal worth and dignity, and to make creative use of his earned leisure and be accepted by the community as useful and respected citizens; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges all local central labor bodies and their community services committees to work with local unions in cooperation with community welfare planning groups, local health and welfare agencies and other community groups to provide:

1. Pre-retirement information courses that will enable the worker to plan for his retirement during his working years.

2. Counselling information and referral services on such problems as income management, employment, recreation, health and rehabilitation and housing and living arrangements.

3. Centers for retired workers that can meet their need for education, recreation and social relationships, as well as for counselling, information and referral services.

4. Opportunities for retired workers for voluntary service both within the union and the community.

5. Effective community services which provide necessary help when needed.

6. Visitation services to meet the special needs of retired workers who are ill, homebound or otherwise unable to visit activity centers; and be it further

RESOLVED: That unions in the community, as a general rule, should look to existing agencies to provide service for older workers and that they should cooperate with other community groups in creating new community services as needed in the fields of counselling, health, education and recreation; and be it further

RESOLVED: That local central labor bodies give special emphasis to the development of pre-retirement information programs and the establishment of senior citizen centers for retired workers, either on a union or community basis; and be it further

RESOLVED: That the programs of Senior Citizens' centers, whether organized on a community or union basis, include opportunities for their members to exercise all rights of citizens, including political education and activities.

## YOUTH SERVICES

WHEREAS, Adult America owes its young people the opportunity to hope and aspire to a life that will permit growth and development into useful citizens. This means that every young person must feel that he can continue in school to the full extent of his capacity to learn, that the spectrum of education must be broad enough to encompass the varied talents and skills of young people, and finally when the formal learning period is over that there will be a place in society where his learning can be usefully employed. All of these factors are essential to motivate young people prepare themselves for their future roles as workers, citizens and leaders in tomorrow's America, and

WHEREAS, The federal government has initiated a series of programs designed to give our young people the opportunity to stay in school, to develop their skills and to find useful jobs. Federal programs on behalf of young people are important and necessary. These programs should not minimize the important work which is being carried forward by the existing youth-serving agencies such as Boy and Girl Scouts, Boys' and Girls' Clubs, YM and YWCA, Camp Fire Girls, as well as many other local agencies, and

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO recognizes that part of the solution to the problem facing young people must start with the individual young person and his family and work toward creating

within the individual the motivation to find his place in the society in which he finds himself. But the AFL-CIO also recognizes that many environmental factors must be changed if we are to sustain the motivation and to permit young people to achieve realistic goals. For change in the environmental situation we must look to the local community as the setting in which change must occur. It is here that the cycle of poverty, frustration, dependency and deviant behavior must be broken, and

WHEREAS, The existing youth-serving agencies which can help to guide young people toward constructive goals have for the most part been concerned with children of middle-income families and they have given only limited time and attention to the children in slum neighborhoods and low-income areas where a great need exists for the kinds of services which these agencies render; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO commends the federal government for initiating a variety of programs to meet the needs of young people in poor neighborhoods, many of them from minority groups and from deprived homes; and be it further

RESOLVED: That all voluntary youth-serving agencies be urged to extend their services to meet the needs of poor, underprivileged young people, especially those from minority groups; and be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urge local bodies to cooperate with voluntary youth-serving agencies, by placing labor representatives on their boards and committees and in other volunteer capacities, especially by working with these agencies in low-income and minority-group neighborhoods.

## FOOD STAMP PROGRAM

WHEREAS, Malnutrition and hunger are realities in our country for large numbers of poor and deprived families. The federal government in an effort to supplement the inadequate diets of these families has developed two programs—the surplus food program and the food stamp program. The surplus food program, which distributes specified food items, government-owned, directly to eligible recipients, has not been satisfactory because of the limited number of foods available, the method of distribution and indignities forced upon the recipients, and

WHEREAS, The food stamp program has proven to be more satisfactory because it has offered a wider choice of foods and allows the recipient to select those foods most suitable for his

family's needs, through local food outlets participating in the program, and

WHEREAS, Several years of experience with the food stamp program has demonstrated the need for more flexible administration of the food stamp program; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That this convention goes on record as approving the expanded food stamp program, with the following improvements—

1. Distribution of food stamps on a weekly basis.
2. Distribution of food stamps through centers that are readily accessible to eligible food stamp recipients.
3. Increase the amount of stamps purchased for each dollar to \$2 of food stamps for each \$1 spent.
4. Raise the income limitations for eligible recipients to cover a greater number of low-income families.
5. Substantially increase funds authorized for the food stamp program; and be it further

RESOLVED: That this convention call upon the Secretary of Agriculture to authorize the recommended changes at the earliest opportunity, under existing legislation; and be it further

RESOLVED: That until the food stamp program has been instituted in all parts of the country, that the surplus food program be continued.

## SHELTERED WORKSHOPS

WHEREAS, Sheltered workshops provide a means for training and employment of handicapped persons who cannot fit into ordinary competitive employment, as such are recognized as a part of the process of rehabilitation of handicapped persons by organized labor, and

WHEREAS, Sheltered workshops should provide under effective medical and vocational supervision, not only useful and remunerative work but opportunities for vocational adjustment and advancement with, whenever possible, transfer to open employment, and

WHEREAS, Organized labor has supported the development of progress of sheltered employment as an effective medium for helping handicapped workers gain reasonable and satisfying employment and training opportunities, and

WHEREAS, Although wage standards of sheltered workshops are covered by the federal minimum wage law, this law permits payment of subminimum wages when the Wage-Hour Division of the U.S. Department of Labor grants permission to do so. Such permission has been widely sought and readily granted, in many instances resulting in undesirably low wages for sheltered shopworkers, and

WHEREAS, Sheltered workshops have a responsibility to the handicapped to give them more than work alone. They must provide work with wages consistent with self-respect and self-support. Moreover, sheltered workshops are important in shaping community attitudes towards the handicapped. Where shopworkers' wages are a mere pittance, the community will hold the abilities of sheltered shopworkers in low regard, at the same time giving the workshops an unhealthy reputation as sweatshops; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That organized labor continue to support the sheltered workshop program wherever workshops meet the following standards:

1. Sheltered workshops should adhere to federal and state wage and hour regulations, where applicable, and maintain wage standards comparable to prevailing wage piece rate standards for similar work in private employment.
2. The workshop should conform to national, state and local codes and standards covering safety, health, sanitation, lighting, heating and ventilation.
3. The right of workers in sheltered workshops to organize into unions of their own choosing for purposes of collective bargaining should be recognized by the boards and administrators of sheltered workshops.
4. Sheltered workshops should not seek to deprive workers in competitive industry of their jobs by bidding for work, usually performed through normal industrial channels, on the basis of substandard wages paid to sheltered workers by the utilization of community subsidies.
5. The policy-making boards of sheltered workshops should be representative of all community interests related to the workshops, including representatives of organized labor.
6. The responsibility for setting and enforcing standards and supervising the sheltered workshops is the responsibility of the appropriate agencies of government designed by law to assume this responsibility.

## VISTA

WHEREAS, Volunteers in Service to Americans (VISTA) is the domestic equivalent of the Peace Corps, sponsored by the government directly through the Office of Economic Opportunity, and

WHEREAS, VISTA offers adult Americans of all ages over 18 the opportunity to join in the war against poverty through serving the poor and deprived where they live, and

WHEREAS, VISTA Volunteers can serve their fellow citizens in greatest need in a variety of anti-poverty programs, including work in the Job Corps, in neighborhood centers developed through local community action programs, in migrant camps, in youth programs, in rehabilitation, mental health, and retardation programs, as tutors, in senior citizens centers, in hospitals and health projects on Indian reservations and in many other types of useful work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO pledges its cooperation with VISTA through its Community Services Activities program and urges that all AFL-CIO affiliates also cooperate in this program, and further urges qualified AFL-CIO members, particularly retired workers with skills, to volunteer for active participation in VISTA, with the assurance that there will be no duplication of existing programs and no displacement of local workers who are currently employed.

## CIVIL DEFENSE AND EMERGENCY PLANNING

In this tense and troubled world, preparedness for the defense and maintenance of the civilian sector is no less urgent than preparedness of the military. As President Johnson has said, "although we must have an everlasting concern for peace and must strive for reasonable disarmament proposals, our strength lies in preparedness. I consider preparedness in the civil activities of government to be an essential element of our total defense, necessary to and complementing military defense."

It is clear that even in a nuclear attack, substantial segments of our population, our communities, our communications and our transportation systems, and our productive capacity, would survive. However, whether they could be restored and integrated into a workable and viable economy, and to an acceptable level of social order with effective civilian control, requires advanced plans for survival and recovery. For these reasons, it is essential that the necessary time, energy and money be devoted to programs of civil-

ian defense and emergency planning, while we continue to hope and to work for a world in which peace is secure. Therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** 1. The AFL-CIO supports the current efforts of the Department of Defense to provide for the defense of civilians and of the Office of Emergency Planning to provide preparedness programs which seek to assure the maintenance of the civilian sector, under civilian authority, with maximum possible reliance on voluntary cooperation of the private economy. However, we advocate more vigorous action to step up our state of readiness to meet an emergency.

2. Although the survival of no individual can be insured by any measures, the survival of our nation and many millions of our people can be assisted by adequate preparations. We call upon the federal government, both the executive and the Congress, to provide whatever national leadership is required, including financing, for a far-reaching national program of civilian defense. We are especially mindful of the need for group shelters to meet the needs of citizens in our heavily-populated cities for whom a program of individual shelters is meaningless.

3. Our efforts to survive a nuclear attack must be concerned with our ability to reconstruct our society on a democratic basis. Toward this end, we urge the Office of Emergency Planning to increase its efforts to develop its programs, so as to assure political and economic continuity, together with its plans for a continuity of civil authority. In this regard, we are encouraged by the widespread participation in the readiness program of thousands of leaders of the private sector of the economy, including representatives of the trade union movement, who are cooperating with state and federal officials in developing our capacity to manage our resources in the event of an emergency.

4. Economic stabilization programs—prepared for the advent of national emergency which would include wage, price, and rent controls, as well as materials allocation, both in the determination of policy and in the administrative application—should be accomplished under the guidance of bodies that represent all groups in our society, including organized labor, at all levels of government.

## EDUCATION

### EDUCATION

The two years since the AFL-CIO Convention of 1963 have been marked by a major breakthrough in federal aid to education. A series of legislative victories have made greatly increased sums of federal money available to meet a wide range of educational needs. Among the bills passed since the AFL-CIO's last convention are the Vocational Education Act of 1963, the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963, the Library Services and Construction Act of 1964, the Nurses Training Act of 1964, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, the Higher Education Act of 1965, the National Technical Institute for the Deaf Act of 1965, the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities Act of 1965, and amendments broadening and strengthening the National Defense Education Act and the Manpower Training and Development Act. In addition to these bills, there are significant education programs included in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

Among the completely new programs which are now under way are Operation Headstart and adult literacy training, both undertaken as a result of the Economic Opportunity Act. New programs of financial aid to students are underway, for high school students under the Economic Opportunity Act and for college students under the Higher Education Act of 1965. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act has given rise to a host of special programs to improve educational opportunities for low income children, including the establishment of supplemental services.

Contrary to the dire predictions of those who have opposed federal aid to education, these new programs have not placed education in a federal straight jacket, but have actually placed great new responsibilities upon the state and communities and have increased the opportunities for imaginative planning at the local level.

For years the issue of federal aid to education was deadlocked over the question of aid to non-public schools. The AFL-CIO maintained that without in any way doing damage to the separation of church and state, it was possible and necessary to resolve this question by finding constitutional ways of giving aid to non-public schools. Our position has been validated. The Johnson Administra-

tion found a formula acceptable to all sides and the result has been a federal aid program of unprecedented scope. The Administration and the Congress deserve the congratulations of all who are concerned with the quality of American education.

Organized labor has been one of the most vigorous supporters of the schools since the earliest days of education, and the AFL-CIO proudly follows in this great tradition. Early unions championed universal free public education because they saw education as an essential route to a higher standard of living. Today, federal law gives explicit recognition to the relationship between education and both national and personal income. Early unions further saw education as necessary for the creation of the informed electorate upon which the success of democratic government depended.

Above all, however, labor has asserted that the basic purpose of education is to insure the self-fulfillment of every individual. There is no better test of the success of a democracy than what it does to enable each of its members to discover the best that is in himself. The child who receives less than the best education that we can give him may contribute less than his full potential to our national productivity, but even more important he himself will be cheated out of his full opportunity for growth. This capacity for growth never ends and the AFL-CIO therefore believes that for every American child, youth, and adult there must be an appropriate type of education characterized by quality, excellence and innovation.

There has already been in recent years a serious effort on the part of the federal government and most state and local governments to improve educational opportunities. Expenditures for public elementary and secondary education have more than doubled within the past ten years, going from \$9 billion in 1953-54 up to more than \$21 billion in 1963-64. Although most of this increase has been absorbed by increased enrollments and higher costs, it is nevertheless true that per pupil current expenditure, adjusted to 1961-62 dollars, has increased from \$295 in 1953-54 to \$444 in 1963-64.

Impressive as these gains may be, it is unfortunately true that they are not yet enough. At the state and local level the greatest gains have been made in those areas which are best able to afford them. Inequalities in educational opportunity persist and in many instances have actually widened over recent years. The difference in average per pupil expenditure between the states which are highest and those which are lowest were actually much greater in 1963-64 than they were in 1953-54. Far more needs to be done to make equality of educational opportunity a reality for all of the young people of the nation.

A major portion of the increase in educational expenditure

must come from the federal government. The federal government alone can compensate for the unequal resources between the states and it alone has the taxing power to match the need. States and communities depend for school finance primarily upon the sales tax and the property tax. Apart from the fact that neither of these taxes are equitable, neither of them is well designed to reach the most lucrative sources of school finance. Only the federal income tax can do this.

One major federal concern must be with school construction. More than 12 million students attend schools with 30 or more pupils to a room. Nearly five million additional students will be enrolled by 1970. Moreover, nearly 200,000 of the classrooms presently in use are obsolete and need to be replaced. At least \$3 billion a year in federal support is required to meet needs over and beyond present rates of construction.

At least another \$3 billion a year is needed as a federal contribution toward bringing teachers' salaries up from the present average of \$6,200 to at least \$8,000 and toward employing enough new teachers to bring pupil-teacher ratios down to acceptable levels.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 is primarily designed to provide improved educational opportunities for children from low income families. The needs of these children are so great that the present authorization of \$1.3 billion is not enough to fulfill the purposes of the legislation. We believe that the authorization must be increased to approximately \$2.5 billion a year.

Such a program adds up to an annual federal expenditure of \$8.5 billion for elementary and secondary education. This would go far toward equalizing educational opportunity for young people in those states which have limited financial resources. This money would by no means meet all of the existing needs in the schools, but it would meet enough of them to make it possible for the states and localities to concentrate their efforts on removing the remaining barriers to equal educational opportunity.

Lack of money is the main barrier to meeting our educational needs. Our national goals in education can be fulfilled, but only if educators have the money which they need to work with.

Additional money alone, however, will not solve all of our educational problems. It is equally important that wise decisions be made as to how the money that is available can be used to the best advantage to insure the best possible education for every child.

One way to insure that every child will receive a quality education is to give teachers an important share in the process of making educational decisions. The growth of collective bargaining

for teachers in recent years has been an important step in this direction, important for the benefits it has brought to teachers, but even more important for the benefits which it has brought to the schools. The effectiveness of the American Federation of Teachers in some of the nation's major cities has proved what the AFL-CIO has long contended, that unionism is good both for teachers and for the schools.

There is a need for more participation by state and local labor movements in planning the use of available funds for education, especially is this true with regard to vocational education. The opportunities presented by the Vocational Education Act of 1963 will be wasted unless organized labor takes a major responsibility in advisory and policy-making positions.

Steady gains are being scored in another aspect of democratic education, the ending of racially segregated schools. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 have proved powerful weapons in speeding the process of school desegregation throughout the South. Bolder steps must nevertheless be taken. Nothing less than the abolition of the dual school system throughout the South can truly meet the demands of our times. Along with this must go guarantees for the full protection of the rights of both Negro and white teachers.

De facto school segregation arising from neighborhood housing patterns and from the location of schools remains a serious problem throughout the North and the South. The Civil Rights movement, in focusing attention upon this problem and upon the unequal treatment of children which usually accompanies it, has played a valuable role in highlighting the inadequacy of the schools. Massachusetts recently, with the support of organized labor, adopted a new law authorizing the state commissioner of education to withhold state aid from school districts which fail to take action to correct existing de facto segregation. This was one kind of implementation of the principle urged by the 1963 AFL-CIO convention urging positive efforts to ensure that the schools will be meeting places for children of different races, different nationality backgrounds, and different levels of family income.

The Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 and the Higher Education Act of 1965 have provided increased federal support for institutions of higher education, for student financial aid, and for adult education. These laws have made it possible for both public and private colleges and universities to keep student costs lower than they otherwise would have been. Yet we are still far from the AFL-CIO goal of free public higher education for every young person who desires it and who is qualified for it.

One of the principal needs is for more technical schools, more post high school vocational schools, and especially more commuter

colleges, that is community and junior colleges close to where the students live. Opportunities for education beyond high school are broadened for young people to the extent that there are available institutions near their homes. The AFL-CIO looks forward to the time when most young people will have tuition free community colleges within commuting distance. For young people who live in sparsely settled areas, there must be generous public subsidy for students attending centrally located institutions.

The AFL-CIO believes that higher education must be within the reach of every young person, but we feel it would be a serious mistake to try to meet this need by neglecting expenditures for elementary and secondary education as some states seem to be doing. The need is for better support for all education, not for increased support of one segment at the expense of others.

Swelling college enrollments mean that we need every available space in every available college and university. The college population is rising sharply and an increase portion of our youth population needs education beyond high school to find jobs in future industry. Private colleges and particularly the many small liberal arts colleges spread across the nation have always contributed substantially to the diversity of American education. Today with the mounting pressure for college admissions, their existence is more important than ever. Federal support can do much to keep costs at non-public institutions realistically low. Many of the small colleges in the nation have inadequate faculties and facilities. Upgrading the offerings of these institutions is an important part of meeting our needs for higher education and special federal programs are needed for this purpose.

The GI education bills which followed World War II and the Korean War opened the way to what is probably in the long run the best solution to the problems of post high school education, that is, the payment to students as a matter of right of their educational and subsistence costs. Under the first GI bill more than 7.5 million World War II veterans returned home to continue an education that would otherwise been financially impossible for many of them. The costs of a universal GI education bill would be considerable, running as high as \$15 billion a year, but it is a cost which the nation should begin to consider. The greatest sacrifice which a worker's family makes in sending a young person to college is not in paying tuition, room and board, but in the income which the student foregoes in order to continue his education. Universalizing the principle of the GI education bills would insure that no young person ever again need be denied education beyond high school because he or she could not afford it.

Short of that goal, we urge a federal program of an additional

expenditure for higher education of \$1.5 billion a year to encourage the development of tuition free commuter colleges, to provide added classroom space in public and private institutions, and to upgrade existing small liberal arts colleges.

An important aspect of post high school education is continuing adult education. New industrial methods and increased leisure have combined to create new needs and new opportunities in this field. We applaud the action of Congress in providing federal funds for university extension programs. There still remains, however, a greater need than ever of a federal program, long supported by the AFL-CIO, specifically designed to support labor extension services.

The AFL-CIO therefore calls for a massive commitment to education to enlarge and equalize opportunity. States and communities must make renewed efforts on behalf of their schools and the federal government must expand the promising start which it has already made. An additional \$10 billion dollar annual federal expenditure is needed, \$8.5 billion for elementary and secondary education and another \$1.5 billion to support and encourage free and low cost higher education. Such a program will prove to be an investment which will pay rich dividends in developing to the fullest the potential in all of our people—children, youths, and adults. It will also contribute an important part to the development of full employment and maximum economic growth.

## LABOR EDUCATION

Labor education programs, sponsored by national and international unions and assisted by the AFL-CIO Department of Education, play an important part in building the strength and solidarity of the labor movement, in helping to clarify labor's goals, and in bringing to union members a fuller understanding of their problems as workers, as unionists, and as citizens.

Recent years have witnessed both new problems and new opportunities for organized labor and these developments have created an even greater importance for labor education. Each year circumstances have led new unions to initiate education programs and as a result there has been a steady growth in labor education and an ever widening range of material covered in the existing programs.

The growth of collective bargaining opportunities among such groups as professional, white collar and government workers is creating a special demand for new educational programs designed to sharpen the bargaining skills of unions which have until now

had little experience in negotiating and enforcing collective agreements.

Other workers, more experienced in bargaining techniques, nevertheless face new problems arising out of technological changes in industry which make new demands upon the members and their unions. Automation and other technological developments require new skills on the part of workers but they also require innovations in collective bargaining. Labor education must concern itself with both of these needs.

Labor education, however, is not only concerned with improving labor's position at the bargaining table. Many new state and federal programs have created vast new opportunities for unions. If these opportunities are not to be lost, labor education must reach union staff members, officers, and rank and file members. The war on poverty, for example, extends into every part of the nation. Organized labor must play a major role in this national effort, and education within our own ranks is an essential part of making our contribution one of maximum effectiveness. Similarly unions must learn how to get the maximum advantage of the many new programs in civil rights, aid to education, and social security. It has never been truer than today that understanding is a key to effective action.

The growth of opportunities for labor education coincides with a growth in the facilities and means for labor education. Increasing number of state universities are establishing labor extension programs, and new federal support for university centered adult education promises even greater expansion of university labor programs. These programs, making possible co-operative educational efforts between the unions and the universities, represent a trend which the AFL-CIO welcomes with enthusiasm.

Therefore, be it resolved that the Sixth Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO:

1. Extends its commendation to those unions and state and local central bodies which have undertaken effective educational activity and urges them to intensify their efforts even more.
2. Calls upon those unions which have not yet undertaken educational programs to begin this important activity soon.
3. Urges all AFL-CIO state and local central bodies to establish educational committees to develop programs and to assist and co-ordinate the work of their affiliates.
4. Instructs the AFL-CIO Department of Education to continue to provide all possible assistance in the implementation of this program.

## **FREEDOM SCHOOLS**

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, during the summer of 1965, operated and programmed 29 Freedom Schools in Mississippi and several other Freedom Schools and Centers in Alabama, Georgia, and Florida, and

WHEREAS, These Freedom Schools were operated with the full consent and cooperation of the southern civil rights movement, and

WHEREAS, These Freedom Schools offered instruction in Negro history, American democracy, remedial reading, health and hygiene and other subjects chosen alike by the AFT teachers and students.

WHEREAS, The presence of these union teachers offered both stability and professional competence to the education programs of the civil rights organizations in the South; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** That the Sixth Biennial Convention of the AFL-CIO support the AFT and any other constituent international union so interested in expanding the Freedom Schools movement in every area of our nation that needs this educational program.

## **SUMMER CITIZENSHIP CONFERENCES FOR YOUTH**

WHEREAS, The strength of the labor movement in the future rests with the youth of this nation, and

WHEREAS, The exposure to industrial labor relations given to school students has been management oriented, and

WHEREAS, It is the duty of the members of organized labor to pass on the hard-won heritage and enlighten others to our goals and objectives, and

WHEREAS, The Texas AFL-CIO sponsored Summer Citizenship Conference in June of 1965 was a new approach to this problem of communication to high school and college age youths and the means by which over 200 of them met and discussed diverse social and economic subjects with the officers and members of the Texas AFL-CIO; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** That we support and participate in the Summer Citizenship Conferences in an effort to educate students to the true facts of what organized labor can and will do for them when they join working forces and the goals and objectives of

the labor movement, particularly in the areas of civil rights and elimination of poverty; and be it further

**RESOLVED:** That national AFL-CIO urge its affiliated state central bodies to develop programs similar to the Texas AFL-CIO Summer Citizenship Conference and provide such assistance as may be possible.

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### VIET NAM

The nature of the war in Viet Nam becomes clearer from day to day. The Communists are waging a war of conquest, a war for the annexation of South Viet Nam by Ho Chi Minh's regime. This war is not an isolated or local conflict. It is an integral phase of the Communist drive for dominating the world.

With Hanoi openly pouring in more and more of its regular troops, the conflict increasingly resembles the war in Korea. The American people backed President Truman's decision to defeat the Communist onslaught in Korea, because they knew that the loss of South Korea would be the beginning of the loss of all of Asia. Today, the American people realize that a defeat in South Viet Nam would open the door to Communist control of Southeast Asia and the rest of the continent. If Asia and all of its hundreds of millions of people were to come under Communist domination, the survival of our own country would be gravely endangered.

In this realization, the American people fully support President Johnson's policy in Viet Nam. Our convention pledges unstinting support by the AFL-CIO of all measures the Administration might deem necessary to halt Communist aggression and secure a just and lasting peace. The moment the Communists cease and desist from their drives to seize control of South Viet Nam by military force and are willing to sit down at the conference table, the war will be ended.

The hypocrisy of the Communist governments' peace propaganda is underlined by their continuous rejection of the many peace overtures made during the last year by the United States, her Western allies, the United Nations and non-aligned countries. President Johnson and Secretary of State Rusk have time and again asserted America's readiness to enter unconditionally into negotiations for halting the war in Viet Nam. The AFL-CIO Executive Council and President George Meany have repeatedly affirmed American labor's support of these persistent efforts by the Administration to hasten the end of military operations in Viet Nam and to speed the inauguration of a vast program of social and economic reconstruction in the entire Indo-Chinese peninsula.

The convention heartily concurs in this policy of seeking peace in Viet Nam through negotiations and promoting the well-being of the people.

The Communist enemy can never be defeated by military means alone. Along with adequate military measures, there must be sound large-scale programs for improving the conditions of life and labor and for developing democratic institutions. But even the best programs without people are useless. In this connection, the unions of the workers and peasants can play a decisive role. The convention, therefore, reiterates the AFL-CIO plea for appropriate and adequate assistance to the Viet Nam Confederation of Workers (CVT) which has emerged as an invaluable force for democratic regeneration and social justice in the land.

It is not only the American workers who have a great stake in strengthening the CVT as a force for freedom, peace and human well-being in Viet Nam. Freedom-loving workers everywhere have the same stake that we have in this crucial struggle. We appeal to the ICFTU and the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions to join in a common effort for the support of the CVT so that it can play an ever more effective part in promoting democracy and human well-being and preserving peace for the entire Vietnamese people.

### REBUILD AND STRENGTHEN THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY

The Soviet defeat in the Cuban missile crisis of October 1962 led to a decrease of tension in Europe. With the fear of Soviet aggression diminished, dissension and disarray grew in the Atlantic Community. During these years, President De Gaulle sharply curtailed French participation in NATO, severely criticized its structure and announced his opposition to continuing any arrangements for an integrated defense with an integrated command. He would replace NATO with bilateral treaties between France and her allies in 1969 when the treaty might be denounced.

Since the end of integration would mean the finish of NATO, it is not likely that the other member states will support De Gaulle's policy. They realize that NATO must be maintained, in view of the fact that Moscow has not given up its expansionist designs and is continually streamlining its military machine. This constitutes a persistent threat to the independence of Europe. As the most powerful member of the Atlantic alliance, our country bears the heaviest responsibility for its maintenance and effectiveness and should take the initiative and leadership towards this end. No doubt, reforms and reorganizations are required for the improvement of NATO. Our government should

propose to our Allies a program for bringing the structure of NATO up to date. Negotiations for overhauling the defense alliance should be speeded. The common platform thus evolved should seek to keep France in NATO, but not at the expense of the cohesion, effectiveness and strength of the alliance.

The desire of our NATO partners for greater American consultation and cooperation with them is fully legitimate. They are entitled to adequate participation in drafting nuclear strategy and co-determination in the use of nuclear weapons. Our government should take steps to make American nuclear guarantees for Europe fully credible. The eventual emergence of a European nuclear force should also be encouraged. Furthermore, effective sharing of political decisions and responsibility for their execution is imperative. The basic interests of the Atlantic alliance demand a common strategy towards the Communist world in such matters as economic policy, disarmament and German reunification. The same applies to policy toward the developing countries. To assure such united action, there should be established appropriate institutions representative of the major countries, including Germany, as well as the smaller nations, with the latter participating on a rotating basis.

We cannot emphasize too forcefully that, without a strong Atlantic alliance, Europe would today be at the mercy of the Soviet Union. The USSR realizes this and has, therefore, made the destruction of NATO the overriding goal of its foreign policy.

The Federal Republic continues to be the primary target of Soviet imperialist ambitions in Europe and the first object of hatred and vituperation by every Communist regime on the continent. Moscow knows that if it could subjugate West Germany, which is our strongest ally, NATO would be doomed. This is why the Soviet Union has, during the past year, stepped up its drive against the Federal Republic and has been denouncing it as militaristic and reactionary, as constituting the main obstacle to peaceful relations between East and West. In this slanderous attack against democratic Germany, Moscow's first and foremost aim is to sow mistrust of the Federal Republic among its allies and divide and break up the Atlantic alliance.

The Atlantic alliance is also facing the urgent problem of German participation in the common nuclear defense. Though the Federal Republic has renounced the production of atomic weapons, Moscow continues to charge her with aspiring to become a nuclear power. The Soviet rulers want the world to believe that the Federal Republic would start a third world war if she were to participate in the projected multilateral nuclear force (MLF) or a similar set-up. The Soviet government knows very well that Germany does not seek to possess national nuclear arms and would not acquire them under the MLF. As an integrated weap-

ons system, the MLF would not give Germany control of nuclear arms. She would be only one of the participating NATO member states and would not be in a position to pull the nuclear trigger.

The Germany of today is democratic and peace-loving. She has foresworn the use of force for achieving her reunification in freedom. Germany has integrated her armed forces in NATO—the only member state to do so. Next to our country, Germany is the heaviest contributor to NATO, but has no voice in formulating its nuclear policy. At the same time, she is the country most dangerously exposed to Soviet military aggression. Under these circumstances, it is in the common interest of the Atlantic alliance that the Federal Republic have an adequate share in all the decision-making processes of NATO. That is why the late President Kennedy proposed the MLF. This project or a similar arrangement should be employed to assure the Federal Republic co-responsibility in nuclear affairs.

In this connection, it is significant that, in recent weeks, Moscow has stepped up its missile threat to Germany by modernizing some 700 of its nuclear middle-range rockets. Since the MLF was designed, in the military field, to counter-balance the medium-range Soviet missile forces aimed at Germany, the Federal Republic's participation in it would go far to satisfy her security needs and strengthen all her other ties with the Atlantic community.

The Soviet Union has warned that the establishment of the MLF would jeopardize German reunification. This threat is voiced every time Germany moves closer to the West. With or without German participation in the MLF, the Soviet rulers are determined to deny the German people their right of self-determination. The Soviet Union has never swerved from this position since 1945. Only a few weeks ago, on the occasion of a visit to Moscow by its East German puppet Walter Ulbricht, L. I. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, declared that the victory of the so-called "DDR" was inevitable and that a reunified Germany would be "Socialist"—that is Communist. The Federal Republic, as well as the United States, Britain, and France—which share with the USSR the responsibility for the achievement of German national unity—have repeatedly stated that as soon as Moscow agrees to German reunification in freedom, new agreements on European security would be negotiated with all of Germany's neighbors. The Soviet government has only to accept all-German free elections and the MLF will be a dead issue.

The USSR also threatens not to sign a nuclear non-proliferation treaty, if Germany is allowed to participate in any nuclear weapons system. Moscow attempts to justify this refusal on the ground that the MLF, or any similar project, would constitute a proliferation of nuclear arms. This argument is without foun-

dation in fact, because the nations which do not possess nuclear weapons today will not acquire them through the MLF. In fact, a non-proliferation agreement as such is of no primary concern to Moscow. Neither national interests nor ideological reasons could cause Moscow to spread nuclear weapons among its satellites or any other countries. She has jealously guarded her status as a nuclear big power. The USSR is interested in a non-proliferation treaty only insofar as it could be used for undermining and disrupting NATO. Therefore, neither our country nor any of its allies has any reason to make any concessions to Moscow for signing a non-proliferation treaty. Our country's paramount priority should be the maintenance and reinforcement of the Western alliance rather than the signing of such a treaty.

American labor, the entire American people, would welcome any step towards genuine and complete disarmament. But a non-proliferation treaty would constitute such a step only if it were to include adequate safeguards to protect the non-nuclear nations not only against atomic aggression but also against atomic blackmail and conventional attacks by any nuclear power. Without such safeguards by the nuclear powers to protect the small nations, a non-proliferation treaty would promote political instability rather than permanent peace. It is the very fear of such aggressive acts that has made many countries want to have their own atomic weapons. Furthermore, a non-proliferation treaty is no substitute for a ban on the production and use of nuclear arms under effective measures of international control and supervision. Without such an arrangement, a non-proliferation treaty would only assure the monopoly of the nuclear big powers and provide no guarantee against Communist aggression.

Today, the West is confronted with a very critical situation in regard to the Common Market as well as NATO. In both cases, President de Gaulle's rejection of integration is the root of the trouble. European political integration is now at a standstill and even the economic integration achieved to date is in danger. It would be a very grave blow to European progress, if the European Economic Community could not attain its proclaimed goals. We urge our government to encourage and support every effort to maintain the Common Market and develop it into a comprehensive European organization embracing all democratic nations, including Great Britain.

The most urgent task facing the United States today in the field of foreign policy is to reconstruct and reinvigorate the Atlantic alliance. Our survival as a free nation demands that the present strains in NATO be overcome and the Atlantic Community be rebuilt on the basis of equal partnership and firm unity.

## LATIN AMERICA

The workers of the Americas have the greatest stake in the development of Latin America into an area of democracy, prosperity, and social justice. The AFL-CIO pledges to work with redoubled energy toward this end, in full cooperation with ORIT.

The late President Kennedy conceived the Alliance for Progress as an instrument of help by the people of the United States to the Latin American peoples in their efforts to overcome social, economic and political backwardness and to build healthy and prosperous democracies. With this assistance from the United States, the progress to date has been significant, though slow. We need but cite the steps toward more equitable distribution of tax burdens, promising action towards agrarian reforms, resettlement of landless peasants, low-cost housing projects and improvements in educational facilities.

However, very much remains to be done towards overcoming the centuries-old lag in social and economic development. Approximately half the population is still living in desperate poverty. Unemployment and underemployment continue to rise faster than industrial development and job opportunities. The heaviest burdens of the economic austerity programs continue to fall on those who can least afford to bear them. The problems of illness, illiteracy, and wretched housing (favelas) continue to be acute. The big landowners play a retrogressive role. Over 65 percent of the cultivatable land area is held by 2 percent of the population; 70 percent of the farmers own only 4 percent of the land. The firmly established military forces, not infrequently, play a repressive role in the national life. Intransigent employer groups and entrenched greedy oligarchies stubbornly persist in opposing progressive social legislation, honest and efficient government services, effective free trade unions and collective bargaining.

In view of these difficulties, the AFL-CIO welcomes the recent assurance by President Johnson that our country is prepared to extend its support of the Alliance for Progress program beyond 1971, the original ten-year cut off date. We further greet the "Act of Rio de Janeiro" adopted by the Special Inter-American Conference in November 1965, pledging joint efforts for the well-being of 400,000,000 people embraced in the Organization of American States (OAS). We are encouraged by its recognition of the need for reforming and revitalizing the OAS.

The working people of a Latin America can play a decisive role in speeding a better day for their respective homelands. Through AIFLD and other activities, we of the AFL-CIO will spare no efforts to help our Latin American brothers develop the self-reliance and initiative needed to insure the triumph of freedom and social justice. High rates of profits and low wages can never be

a foundation for permanent national prosperity or expanding social justice. Only a strong responsible free and democratic trade union movement can assure sound and balanced economic development—increased productive capacities with higher purchasing power, increased possibilities for the people to consume the larger volume of industrial and agricultural production.

Since our last convention, democracy has had both setbacks and successes in Latin America. In Venezuela, the democratic forces have been gradually overcoming the Castro-sponsored Communist terrorist bands. In Chile, the majority of the people rejected the Communist-manipulated “popular front” and elected a government pledged to vigorous democratic reforms. The ruthless rule of the Communist Cheddi Jagan was ended by the free expression of the electorate in British Guiana.

However, in Santo Domingo, the leaders of a popular revolution faltered and opened the door for various pro-Communist groups to take over strategic positions from which they could seize power. These totalitarians forthwith began to subvert the popular revolution. The danger of a bloody civil war became rather serious. The gravity of this danger could never be measured by size of the country or its population. Cuba also was a small country. But under the Communist yoke and as a puppet of Moscow, this Caribbean island nearly provided the spark for a global nuclear conflagration. After the experience with the Castro-Moscow missile machinations of October 1962, it was clear that outside intervention in Santo Domingo was urgent in order to overcome the immediate risk of another Cuba-type regime which could become an additional threat to the freedom of the Americas and the peace of the world. Furthermore, the Communist depredations in Santo Domingo have been only part of the widespread campaign of terrorism in Colombia, Guatemala, Peru, and other Latin American countries.

It is to the credit of our country that its efforts in the Dominican crisis have been directed towards preventing a military take-over, hastening the restoration of constitutional government, speeding the economic reconstruction, and enabling even the most outspoken political opponents to enjoy full freedom of criticism of U.S. policies. The recent Rio de Janeiro conference of inter-American foreign ministers met in the shadow of the OAS intervention in the Dominican civil strife. Opposition to outside intervention is understandable, particularly in the light of certain past unsavory experiences. But today there is an entirely new situation. The United States no longer has any imperialist ambitions or interests. Latin America is now threatened with a new and far more dangerous form of outside intervention—Communist infiltration and subversion.

Every Communist party is an integral section of the interna-

tional Communist movement. Whether it follows Moscow's line or Peiping's instructions, its paramount aim is to subvert the social order and foist upon the country a totalitarian dictatorship whose primary loyalty is to a foreign power. Communist subversion is a covert, deadly form of infringement of national sovereignty. Every country which has absolute respect for the principles of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries, must meet this new type of intervention with new methods—with social and economic measures, with an overall program inclusive of collective military action. The peoples of the Americas cannot afford to view the doctrine of non-interference in a vacuum—without regard to the very critical world situation. The late President Kennedy emphasized this when he sternly warned in 1961:

“Should it ever appear that the inter-American doctrine of non-interference merely conceals or excuses a policy of non-action—if the nations of this hemisphere should fail to meet their commitments against outside Communist penetration—then I want it clearly understood that the government will not hesitate in meeting its primary obligations which are to the security of our nation.”

But it would be a mistake to hold that totalitarian Communism is the only enemy of democracy in Latin America. Haiti is in the cruel grip of a gangster dictatorship. Under the guise of preventing a Communist take-over, a military authoritarian regime holds sway in Paraguay. The AFL-CIO deplores the fact that our government continues to provide the benefits of United States foreign aid to these tyrannical regimes whose rule is in complete violation of the spirit and letter of the Mutual Security Act, the Foreign Assistance Act, the Charter of Punta del Este and the Declaration of Cundinamarca.

After the April 1964 popular revolution in Brazil, the AFL-CIO Executive Council declared on May 19th: “The rights of the working people must be unequivocally recognized in Brazil. Organized labor must have the right to participate fully in the nation's program for social and economic development.” This has not been achieved and all democracy has suffered. Moreover, the Castelo Branco administration has recently become an authoritarian regime. It has curtailed civic and political rights and liberties and the Brazilian labor movement has again been forced back to its original status—an integral part of the state. The free trade unions can never accept and submit to the suspension, let alone the destruction, of democracy as a solution for the ills of economy—even if they were to receive economic concessions in return for such submission. Without democracy, the free trade unions cannot exist. Similarly, no society can long maintain the democratic way of life, if it curtails the freedoms and indepen-

dence of the trade union movement. Even a coalition of honest technocrats with well-meaning military leaders can never serve as a substitute for democracy and its vital institutions, such as free trade unions.

The AFL-CIO Convention deplores the existence of military dictatorships in this hemisphere and calls for their replacement by democratically elected representative governments. We insist on strengthening the economic boycott against Communist Cuba and demand that the United Kingdom, Canada, Japan and Spain cease their commercial dealings with Castro. We reaffirm our support of the democratic forces in Brazil in their struggles to counteract military domination and Communist subversion. The Convention further calls upon the government of the United States to establish enforcement and compliance mechanisms for the full implementation of the guarantees to organized labor included in the Mutual Security Act and the Foreign Assistance Act. Finally, we urge the OAS to establish similar machinery for implementing and enforcing the labor guarantees contained in the Charter of Punta del Este and the Declaration of Cundinamarca—the Magna Carta of Latin American Labor.

## THE RHODESIAN CRISIS AND THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

The 1965 Biennial Convention of the AFL-CIO, believing in the fundamental right of peoples to free themselves from alien rule and their inherent right to self-determination on the basis of majority rule; aware of the explosive situation in Rhodesia stemming from the illegal seizure of power by the Ian Smith racist clique;

Conscious of the possibility of a race war in Rhodesia which will plunge the whole of Africa in a blood-bath and poison race relations the world over; and conscious of the positive role and duty the free labor movement has in averting this human tragedy;

Reaffirms its support of the struggle of the people of Southern Africa (South Africa, South West Africa, Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique) and other colonial territories in their fight for justice and racial equality;

Calls upon the U. S. government to initiate moves that will quarantine the Ian Smith racist regime and bring to a speedy end the pretensions of this insane power-drunk clique;

Urge President Johnson to call upon our ally—Great Britain—on the occasion of the visit of Prime Minister Harold Wilson to the U. S. to begin immediate and exploratory conversations with

the African Nationalist leaders with a view to the introduction of a constitution based on majority rule;

Calls upon the free labor movement to give all possible humanitarian and material assistance to the people of Rhodesia in their fight to secure majority rule and racial justice.

## FOREIGN AID

Since their inception at the end of World War II, U. S. foreign aid programs have helped improve economic and social conditions throughout the Free World.

The United States has continued to lend economic and military support to help the weaker nations against the threat of Communist subversion. This threat was very serious in a number of countries because of their lack of adequate democratic institutions. In this situation, the United States has recognized its duty to aid the building of free nations by extending a humanitarian hand to strengthen the health and economy of the Free World.

After twenty years of varying degrees of success and failure in various parts of the world, there could be noted certain deficiencies in our country's aid programs. It is, therefore, appropriate to re-examine ways in which our nation can best help build the Free World and preserve peace and promote freedom through constructive economic and social measures.

Next year, when P.L. 480 comes up for renewal, our government should assure the world that, to the extent its resources permit, the U. S. will continue this program on an improved basis. Food must not be used by governments of aided countries as a weapon. Therefore, the AFL-CIO continues to oppose the use of food as full payment for work done on various projects in foreign lands. Such payment for work constitutes violation of the ILO Convention on Forced Labor. The administration of this food program, like all foreign aid, should be in accord with the President's State of the Union Message:

"We are prepared to live as good neighbors with all, but we cannot be indifferent to acts designed to injure our interests, or our citizens, or our establishments abroad. The community of nations requires mutual respect. We shall extend it—and we shall expect it."

In this spirit, we urge that Congress continue to include economic aid in its program of assistance to other nations and find appropriate mechanisms for assuring its highest effectiveness in nation-building.

We further propose that Congress should extend P.L. 480 in 1966 with the revisions required for making it a more effective instrument, not only in strengthening the forces of peace, but also in furthering human freedom.

## INTERNATIONAL TRADE

The AFL-CIO reaffirms its longstanding support for expanded international trade in the national interest. The goal and general approach are clear—a stronger United States in a stronger Free World through the gradual lowering of trade barriers reciprocally among nations. To find appropriate specific approaches and short-run mechanisms for working towards the goals, however, is often an exceedingly complex challenge. Changing world political and economic conditions call for flexible actions toward this overall purpose.

The United States has enough authority in the Trade Expansion Act to negotiate effective trade agreements with other nations. Difficulties in the current round of negotiations, as well as unexpected developments and misunderstandings about the law's effects have caused both disappointments and criticism. These problems in the current GATT negotiations (the Kennedy Round) in Geneva have caused several U. S. officials to warn of dangers from possible collapse of this round of trade talks. America's well-being at home and abroad calls for continued and successful negotiations. Meanwhile, reports of growing "protectionism" abroad and the possibility of further snags in negotiations resulting from the current Common Market crisis require planning for innovations and new methods of approach.

The AFL-CIO has repeatedly criticized the Tariff Commission's failure to provide adequate assistance to those adversely affected by imports through adjustment assistance. The Administration's promise to revise the criteria for adjustment assistance under the Trade Expansion Act is a hopeful sign of recognition that this problem is in urgent need of attention. An effective trade adjustment program that provides aid to those affected adversely by imports must be an integral part of America's international trade policy. Government manpower or economic expansion programs are no alternative for an adequate and effective trade adjustment assistance program.

Millions of workers are benefited by expanding trade. However, there is no automatic "free market mechanism" to counteract hardships from expanded imports. The needs of workers who are adversely affected are serious and their rights are important.

The AFL-CIO has also repeatedly called attention to the need

for multilateral agreements, to insure the development of trade in the historically sweated industries which are particularly vulnerable to disruption by unfair competition. The efforts of the Administration to extend the International Long-Term Cotton Textile Arrangement, as well as its efforts on behalf of international arrangements to deal with the problems of trade in wool textiles and apparel show a constructive approach to the problem.

The next few years will be exceedingly important for international trade policy. New problems of the 1960s have received too little consideration and study. Old answers to new problems may prove inadequate.

The question of U. S. investment abroad—its value in both the short- and long-run as well as effects on trade—needs realistic reassessment in relation to the balance-of-payments and the loss of jobs in the domestic economy.

The issue of East-West trade requires clear thinking in terms of political realities and the national interest rather than mere commercial advantage. Commercial relations with the Communist bloc cannot be decided on the basis of possible profits that might be earned by a few businessmen. Obvious political advantage must be the quid pro quo for new trade advantages offered the Soviet bloc in our markets. In any event, there must be continued precautions against exporting advanced U. S. technology and prohibitions against exporting strategic items, because of their possible military advantage.

The problems of the poor nations need much more attention. Trends so far in the 1960s point to enlarging, not narrowing gaps between their trade and development needs and their probable future achievements. Most of all, the United States cannot afford to assume that international trade is a purely economic problem which will work out for the best if everything is left alone, based on purely business decisions. International like national commerce requires safeguards and standards so that living and working conditions actually improve and economic activity results in better social conditions. Therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** The AFL-CIO supports the continued expansion of international trade in the national interest.

1. Appropriate government and private actions should be encouraged to assure growing exports. This expansion, however, has no priority over domestic needs. Extra tax incentives or subsidies to manufacturing corporations for export purposes are unnecessary.

2. Trade adjustment provisions should be amended to make the government's judgment of criteria for relief more realistic and equitable. Trade adjustment must be an integral part of the na-

tion's trade policy. The administration of trade adjustment should be changed to insure that a worker displaced by imports receives assistance. Labor's continued support for liberal trade depends on an effective mechanism for providing adequate relief for those adversely affected by imports.

3. The United States should seek the development of workable international fair labor standards in international trade through international negotiations. Productivity improvements and expanding markets of exporting industries should be accompanied by improved wage and living standards. This aim should be sought not only to protect U. S. workers against unfair competition, but also to assure workers in other countries a fair share of the increased returns resulting from expanded trade. The United States should seek annual reports by member countries of the GATT on labor standards of exporting countries.

4. The United States should try to help the developing countries in their efforts toward better trade and development with practical, trade expanding improvements. Toward this end it should seek in the UNCTAD to develop effective solutions to the trade problems of the developing countries.

The question of extending preferences on semi-manufactured and manufactured products with appropriate mechanisms for market disruption and adequate fair labor standards should be thoroughly explored. Commodity agreements that are effective both for producer and consumer interests should be worked out. Such agreements should contain effective clauses for fair labor standards.

5. The United States should continue its efforts to work out multi-lateral international arrangements for the development of trade in industries highly sensitive to disruption by unfair competition. Agreements analogous to the International Cotton Textile Agreement should be concluded covering trade in textiles and apparel of wool and other fibers and the need for such multi-lateral action should be recognized for other industries affected by market disruption. The Cotton Textile Agreement should be effectively enforced and no erosion permitted in its safeguards against disruption.

6. Legislation to provide mechanical formulae for deciding import quantities can cost more jobs than are saved. Any legislative attempts to take care of specific industry problems should therefore be specific in their guidelines and applications and, if possible, multi-national in approach.

7. East-West trade should be viewed as a tool of our nation's foreign policy, not a mere commercial issue. Appropriate precautions against exporting U. S. technology and prohibitions against

exporting strategic items are essential.

8. The export of U. S. capital and its effect on international trade should be investigated and appropriate supervision and necessary control should be instituted by government authorities. Until the balance-of-payments problem improves there should be direct restrictions on U. S. investment in foreign developed countries. Mechanisms for such restriction are already established in all other major industrial countries.

9. The Trade Expansion Act of 1962 should be implemented to help remove discrimination against U. S. exports overseas.

10. The U. S. government should encourage the use of U. S. flagships and seek to remove freight discrimination against U. S. exports.

11. Studies should be conducted now to determine what new approaches will be necessary in 1967 when the Trade Expansion Act expires. At that time new legislation will be needed to help expand trade. Such studies should include recommendations for better mechanisms for dealing with problems of injury from trade, for examining new bargaining strategies, for improving the government's ability to collect and distribute information on trade.

## ILO

Since 1919 the International Labor Organization has made valuable contributions toward improving the welfare and enhancing the freedom of workers in many lands. With its tripartite structure of representation of employers, workers and government, the ILO has adopted forward-looking international labor standards in the form of conventions and recommendations. These have helped to better wages and working conditions and to safeguard the fundamental human rights of millions of workers.

In recent years, the ILO has devoted an increasing share of its resources to programs of technical assistance aimed at speeding social and economic development in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The American trade union movement through its representatives in the ILO has vigorously supported its efforts for social justice and human freedom. Today, these efforts are all the more urgent because of the great need for the ILO as a tripartite organization actively devoted to the advancement of economic progress, social justice and human freedom in the developing countries. In this realization and with a view of making such ILO efforts ever more fruitful, the AFL-CIO urges that, in accordance with its 1964 Conference decision, the International Labor Organization should take immediate steps to evaluate its experience to date with the compliance by member countries with Convention

(No. 87) Concerning Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize.

While the ILO, with the support of the free trade union movement and other pro-democratic forces, has, in recent years, continued its efforts to promote social and economic progress, the Communists have sought to dominate the organization in order to use it as an instrument for advancing Moscow's international objectives. Experience has amply demonstrated that making concessions to the Communists will not divert them from this course.

In this situation, it is imperative that all democratic forces within the ILO close their ranks and advocate and support positive proposals to safeguard its tripartite character and enhance its effectiveness in advancing social justice and human freedom. In view of the serious totalitarian threat to the ILO from within, the AFL-CIO firmly reiterates its determination to spare no effort to enable the International Labor Organization to preserve its tripartite structure and promote its historic aims. To that end, we pledge our vigorous opposition to the Communist bloc drive to get control of the organization. Were this drive to succeed, it would mean the end of the ILO as a force for human well-being and freedom. It is in this spirit and towards this end that we reaffirm our full support of the ILO in its undertakings to further its time-honored mission of promoting human rights and improvement of the working standards and living conditions.

We urge our government to continue to support the ILO and ratify its conventions. In particular, special attention should be given to the ratification of such human rights conventions as Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize, Abolition of Forced Labor and elimination of discrimination. Though we in the United States have already achieved the rights, freedoms and standards provided by these conventions, we call for their prompt ratification by our country as a demonstration of its support of the Organization.

## ICFTU

American labor has played a vital role in the creation and upbuilding of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) as a truly international association of free trade unions.

In the sixteen years of its existence, the ICFTU has engaged actively in the fight against the old as well as the new (Communist) colonialism. It is also to the credit of the ICFTU that it has opposed Communist infiltration and subversion of the free trade union movement in various parts of the world. We of the

American labor movement have spared no effort or resources to assure these and other notable achievements by the ICFTU.

Since the foundation of the ICFTU in 1949, important changes have occurred in the international situation. These new developments do not require the ICFTU to change its basic objectives—the struggles for bread, peace, and freedom. However, the changes in the international picture from 1949-1965 do call for new approaches, new tactics, and new methods of organization. This means new obligations for the ICFTU.

At its Eighth Congress (Amsterdam, July 1965), the ICFTU took some steps toward meeting the new tasks growing out of the changed world situation. The Congress did well to adopt a sound policy toward the long-standing issue of independent or bilateral activities by its national affiliates. In line with the AFL-CIO position, the Amsterdam Congress recognized the great value of such independent activities and decided to authorize the setting up of ICFTU machinery to serve as a clearing house for coordinating these bilateral undertakings. This new ICFTU approach should serve to avoid duplication and overlapping and bring order and orientation to these efforts. The most effective use of all national as well as international resources and opportunities will thus be facilitated.

The AFL-CIO welcomes the timely and correct decision of the Amsterdam Congress to reaffirm the policy adopted by the ICFTU Executive Board (December 1964) "to refuse to cooperate in any way with any international trade secretariat which may admit into affiliation any organization directly or indirectly affiliated to the WFTU."

This decision should enable the world body and its most active affiliates to work more effectively for defeating the latest Communist maneuvers aimed at infiltrating and subverting the bona fide trade unions of the free world.

Today, the building and strengthening of free trade union organizations is of over-riding importance in the developing as well as the developed countries. In this light, it is unfortunate that the Amsterdam Congress did not come to the aid of the once promising and increasingly effective democratic Tunisian Trade Union Federation (UGTT) when the Bourguiba government launched an all-out attack on its leadership and very existence as a free and independent labor movement.

It is also regrettable that, despite the repeated official ICFTU ban on exchanges with Communist and Falangist "unions" some ICFTU affiliates have recently moved toward establishing relations and exchanging delegations with these organizations which are only agencies of totalitarian dictatorships that are mortal

enemies of human freedom and the basic aims of the ICFTU. Fraternization with such enemy organizations on the part of the ICFTU affiliates can only breed dissension and division in the ICFTU.

This policy of rapprochement is the product of wishful thinking about so-called liberalization of the Communist Party-controlled "unions" behind the Iron Curtain—especially in the East European satellites. In reality, there has been no change in the character or role of the Communist (or Falangist) "trade unions." They are still labor fronts of totalitarian regimes—state organizations for the regimentation, control, and exploitation of the workers. Relations on the part of ICFTU affiliates with these state company unions will hurt rather than help the bona fide trade union movement in the free world. Such a "rapprochement" can only serve the Communist and Falangist Labor Fronts by lending them trade union respectability. This would help them tighten their grip on the workers and weaken the latter's confidence in the credibility of ICFTU support for their aspirations to freedom and democracy.

The ICFTU is a potentially valuable force for democracy and social justice. It embodies millions of members of every race, color, and creed. The largest and oldest free trade unions in the world, as well as many of the young unions in the emerging nations, belong to the ICFTU. With the cooperation and effective help of the AFL-CIO, we believe it will be possible for the ICFTU to overcome its weaknesses and play an increasingly effective role in the fight for bread, peace, and freedom.

Toward this end, the convention authorizes the incoming Executive Council to prepare concrete proposals for strengthening the unity and effectiveness of the ICFTU.

## CARE

WHEREAS, The full membership of the AFL-CIO, here represented by its duly elected officers and delegates assembled in national convention, is keenly aware of the vital role played by CARE (Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere, Inc.) in aiding the people of newly emerging, underdeveloped and generally needy countries throughout the free world with food, self-help tools and medical services, and

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO was one of the founding agencies of CARE 20 years ago and has, through its representatives on the CARE Board of Directors, ever since taken a full share in the development of programs and policies under which CARE has

distributed a total of nearly \$760 million worth of aid among the needy of some 60 countries throughout the free world, and

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO has substantially supported such CARE programs, especially when they concerned themselves with the betterment of living conditions of agricultural and industrial workers by providing them with food, tools and equipment and by aiding them in the establishment and maintenance of free and democratic trade unions through office equipment and trade union organizing kits, and

WHEREAS, CARE is currently engaged in South Viet Nam in a large-scale program to aid the swelling ranks of refugees with food and textiles and by replacing the tools of their trades lost during their flight from Communist aggression; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That this 6th convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations assembled at San Francisco, California, fully endorse CARE's assistance program for South Viet Nam and for other needy countries as the best available means for American organized labor and the American people generally to express their concern for the hungry and needy throughout the free world; and be it further

RESOLVED: That this convention urge upon all affiliated unions and labor bodies the fullest possible financial support of CARE programs as a vital means for the establishment and maintenance of mutual understanding, peace and stability throughout the free world.

## INTERNATIONAL HOUSING

International efforts to improve housing conditions of people throughout the world should be intensified and given greater co-ordination. To this end, we urge that the United Nations Center for Housing, Building and Planning be expanded and that a specialized agency in this vital field be established in the UN.

We call on the U.S. representative in the United Nations to provide American initiative and leadership in the drive for better housing for people everywhere.

## LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS

### ORGANIZING

Since its inception the historic mission of the American labor movement has been to organize the unorganized and to bring to them the benefits and dignity that only can be achieved by a strong union through collective bargaining. Since then, millions of American wage and salary earners have attained vast economic benefits, greater security, and personal dignity from the success of trade unionism, and the whole nation has benefited thereby.

There are additional millions, however, still outside of the ranks of organized labor whose low earnings, even when working full time, are not enough to lift them out of poverty, who work unconscionably long hours and who—without unions and collective bargaining—are without an effective voice at their work places.

Ten years ago, delegates to the first AFL-CIO convention considered the plight of the millions of working men and women "who need, deserve and must have" the benefits and protection of unionism. In the "spirit of labor unity," the delegates called for "the rallying of the combined members and resources of the trade union movement" to accomplish labor's urgent mission of organizing the unorganized.

At the same time, in the same city, an organization of employers was assembled in national convention. Unorganized workers represented a challenge to them also—the challenge of keeping them unorganized.

A measurement of their efforts in these 10 years is suggested by the recent words of the head of the government agency established by Congress to administer the federal Labor-Management Relations Act, ". . . the national labor policy still meets determined challenge and resistance . . . the preponderance of cases filed involve clear violations of well-understood sections of the law. . . . Why should we, 30 years after adoption of congressional policy to protect the right to organize, still find com-

panies firing people for trying to form a union? . . . Yet this is the great bulk of work that comes to the NLRB in 1965."

In their campaign of opposition to union organizing, employers now have readily available the services of firms or individuals specializing in union busting. True to their tradition of misnomer—"right-to-work," "free speech," "free elections"—they call themselves "labor consultants." They devise and help carry out complete anti-union programs designed to develop an atmosphere of fear sufficiently coercive to destroy, or prevent the formation of, majority support for the union. Recognizing the inadequacy of the remedies NLRB can use, they often advise their clients to bend or break the law when resisting employe efforts to form a union, suggesting that even back-pay award is a cheap premium to pay for insurance against the obligation to bargain with their employees through a bona fide union.

That employers heed such advise is supported by the fact that the number of unfair labor practice cases coming before the NLRB has increased markedly in recent years until now they account for more than half the board's case load.

Significantly, there has been a sizable increase in refusal-to-bargain cases, especially in new bargaining situations. This reflects the influence of the consultants who advise their clients, and, indeed, through public addresses, all employers they contact, to carry their hostile resistance to the bargaining table in the event the employees should vote to unionize.

Despite the many thousands who are "scared out" by such campaigns there are still more American workers who continue to exercise their right to choose collective bargaining. Even in fiscal year 1961, the "historical low mark" in percentage of elections won by unions, the majority of workers, in the majority of elections, endorsed the principle of trade unionism by selecting a collective bargaining representative.

Since merger, through September of this year, AFL-CIO unions have participated in more than 44,400 collective bargaining elections conducted by the National Labor Relations Board, winning over 24,500 of them to secure bargaining rights for more than 1,770,000 working men and women. Additional thousands of employes have come under the protection of collective bargaining through voluntary recognition, state labor board and railway mediation board elections, and through procedures adopted as a result of Presidential Executive Order 10988.

These results point to an increasing emphasis on organizing on the part of the AFL-CIO affiliates. A clear sign of this is the involvement of many AFL-CIO unions in cooperative organizing programs, the most prominent being the Los Angeles and Orange Counties program, launched as a pilot project by the AFL-CIO

Executive Council in 1963 and now being continued on a locally oriented basis by a number of the original participating unions.

Another indicator is the extent of AFL-CIO election activity. NLRB figures for fiscal year 1965 will show a record number of elections, with AFL-CIO unions taking part in more elections, and winning bargaining rights for more employees, than in any full NLRB reporting year since AFL-CIO was founded.

To cite such results is not to suggest satisfaction, nor that the organizing needs of America's workers are being met.

AFL-CIO membership has risen since the previous convention but the increase does not equal the number brought into union representation through organizing. Even though more than two million have come into the collective bargaining sphere through the organizing efforts of AFL-CIO unions since merger, counterbalancing elements such as unemployment, technological change, and the continuing work force increase have affected both the net AFL-CIO membership gain and the overall relative position.

As a result, the decline in percentage of potential membership actually enrolled in unions, noted by previous AFL-CIO conventions, has continued.

Yet the need for unionization is as great as ever, and the hopes of workers for improvement of their working and living conditions are more insistant than possibly at any time in our national history.

To meet the need, and to fulfill the hopes, even more effort must be expended in organizing—more effort meaning the commitment of more resources and the more effective use of those resources.

AFL-CIO's 1963 convention delegates called upon all affiliates to participate wholeheartedly in AFL-CIO coordinated organizing programs. That policy, clearly within the spirit of the initial AFL-CIO organizing resolution's "rallying of the combined members and resources," stemmed from a growing conviction that today's organizing challenge can best be met through cooperative endeavor and that in many critical employment fields such an approach is the only practical method.

Adherence to the concept of each union paddling its own organizing canoe will limit the progress hoped for in organizing the 30 million unorganized working men and women who constitute today's organizing target.

These 30 million are located in every state, in every city, in every county. They are in every employment field: in government, at every level, federal, state and local; in wholesale and retail trades; in the service industries in finance, insurance and

real estate; in general office, technical and profession fields. They are in construction trades, in manufacturing, in communications and public utilities.

Today's working population contains a higher percentage of young workers, of women workers, of white-collar workers. The traditionally well-unionized segments of our economy are destined to grow the least while the employment fields in which we have made less organizational progress are destined to grow the most.

As in the past, successful organizing rests upon the ability of workers to recognize in unionism and the machinery of collective bargaining the means for solving their problems, meeting their needs, serving their interests. As in the past, this means that unions must purposefully develop and communicate programs that make that kind of identification possible.

General exhortation is not an effective method of organizing today. The union appeal must be attuned to the particular group. The union program must be responsive to specific needs.

This necessitates constant evaluation of the union organizing program, of the groups involved, of the methods employed, and the changing nature of the organizational requirements as they are affected by age, skill, sex, race and other factors within the unorganized community. It requires insights and knowledge, resources and skills of the highest order.

Nothing but total commitment and total involvement of the mainstream of the American labor movement can meet the challenge, the opportunity, and the obligation which the 30 million unorganized but organizable American workers present to AFL-CIO at the start of its second decade. Therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** 1. That the AFL-CIO affiliates mark this completion of the first decade of labor unity by a vigorous rededication of total commitment to the vital union task of organizational growth.

2. That the organizing attitude of every affiliate be characterized by the understanding that this pledge of total commitment must rest on the spirit of mutual respect and cooperation among affiliates.

3. That the program of coordinated organizing under AFL-CIO sponsorship be supported as a necessary feature of organizational activity today.

4. That all affiliates adopt a continuing program of evaluating their organizing operations with the aim of developing more effective means of organizing, increasing the organizing skills

of their staffs, and encouraging participation in coordinated organizing programs.

5. That all members of AFL-CIO unions be viewed as potential and important participants in the overall organizing mission of the American labor movement.

## COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

All Americans take pride in the accomplishments of collective bargaining. It is a mainspring of our free society, for it provides workers with a voice in establishing the conditions of employment and it helps to foster industrial democracy, instead of paternalism.

But it is also more. It is an institution that has been making a positive and healthy contribution to the economic well being of the entire nation. By helping to raise the wages and fringe benefits of organized workers, collective bargaining has led to a rise in buying power, to increased output, to greater efficiency and to higher standards of living for all of the nation's wage earners.

None of this is to say that collective bargaining is the answer to all of the problems of Americas workforce, nor is it to suggest that all of our economic difficulties can be dealt with at the bargaining table. And no group understands the limitations, as well as the power of collective bargaining better than organized labor.

There can be no doubt, however, as to the crucial role that free collective bargaining plays in our society, and to the positive contribution that it makes. Time and again, it has proved itself. Over the past dozen years, especially—during which we have suffered three recessions, spreading automation, changing production methods, reduced labor requirements, shifts in job skills, increased business mergers, geographic shifts of industry—the ingenuity, flexibility and vitality of collective bargaining have been sorely tried. And more often than not, collective bargaining has measured up to the challenges, which would have been less severe, had there been adequate public programs to cope with the problems of job-creation and the social impact of radical technological change.

As a result, collective bargaining has led the way in the development of practical and workable procedures to deal with radical industrial changes at the work-place. In tens of thousands of labor-management agreements, in a variety of industries throughout the land, collective bargaining has provided protective measures for humanizing the impact of industrial change at the work-place.

Moreover, although collective bargaining has become increasingly concerned with issues of job and income-security, it has

not neglected the need for higher wages. Through wage increases, workers have received a share of the nations' rising productive efficiency. And these gains in buying power have provided a foundation for the consumer markets on which our economic system depends.

The rapid rise in the nations productivity and sharp increase in business profits indicate clearly that workers' gains have not been achieved at the cost of industrial progress or of society as a whole. Moreover, rapid increases in productivity have outpaced the improvements of workers' buying power. There is ample room, as well as need, for even greater gains in buying power, for job and income-security, for improved fringe benefits and improved conditions on the job.

It is to the credit of the collective bargaining process that the gains which have been achieved were accomplished with a high degree of industrial peace. Between 1955 and 1965, for example, less than three-tenths of 1 percent of available working time was lost due to strikes or lockouts. Last year, in fact, time lost due to strike and lockouts was only half of the loss due to accidents on the job; it was only one-eighth of the loss due to accidents and illness.

Despite this record of accomplishment, attacks on collective bargaining continue. The enemies of organized labor seek to weaken and destroy collective bargaining, at the same time that they seek to undermine unions. Through "right-to-work" laws, well-financed programs that seek to alienate workers from unions, and through propaganda for anti-trust regulations of unions, compulsory arbitration, anti-labor forces hope to hamper unions and to restrict the ability of organized labor to engage in effective collective bargaining. Therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** The AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions will continue to advance collective bargaining as a major bulwark of a free society. We rededicate ourselves to preserve and extend the right of working men and women to organize and freely negotiate agreements with their employers, concerning the conditions of employment. We will continue to utilize the institution of collective bargaining to develop solutions to the great problems of technological change, although we recognize that collective bargaining, alone, cannot fully resolve these nation-wide social problems.

We will work for the continued extension of collective bargaining to all wage and salary workers.

We will press for wage and salary increases, because working people deserve to share equitably in the rising productive potential of the nation and to achieve a greater share in the distribution of the nation's income; because rising worker incomes are the essential underpinning of consumer buying power, on which the well-being of the entire economy ultimately must depend. The share

of income going to American workers has declined in recent years as wages have lagged behind productivity, while profits have soared to record levels and productive efficiency has risen rapidly. Because of these factors, higher wages can be granted without price increases.

We will continue our drive to achieve a reduction of working hours, through collective bargaining, as well as through legislation. We will also seek improved vacations, holidays, and other increases in paid leisure time.

We will seek to advance the security and well-being of workers, through improved health and welfare plans, better pensions, new programs for guaranteeing employment, training and transfer programs, and more adequate supplemental unemployment benefits.

We seek these collective bargaining objectives to improve American working and living standards and to bring a more equitable distribution of the fruits of our country's productive power to the working men and women of the United States.

## GE AND WESTINGHOUSE NEGOTIATIONS

Seven international unions, representing more than 160,000 GE and Westinghouse employes, have joined together to form a common collective bargaining front for the negotiations with those corporations in 1966.

They plan to develop national goals which they will jointly support and prevent the corporations from playing one off against the other. As President George Meany, who called the seven union presidents together, so correctly stated:

"The electrical machinery industry is one of the most important in our nation, not only to consumers and business but also to our national defense, and is the industry where scientific and technological progress has made giant strides, creating many new problems for the employes.

"The people of this country have a right to expect that GE and Westinghouse, as the leaders and predominant forces in the electrical industry, will be the pace setters in sharing with their employes the great gains that have come to them, and will provide adequate solutions to the problems of employes created by this technological progress.

"Unfortunately, the benefits that are provided to their employes have not kept up with economic possibilities and the progress being made as a result of labor-management agreements in other major industries."

As a result of the 1960 negotiations, GE has been found guilty by the NLRB of refusal to bargain in good faith. Since 1960, it has shown no evidence that it does intend, of its own volition, to bargain in good faith. Westinghouse has shown a dangerous tendency in its bargaining to want to follow in GE's footsteps.

The seven unions have expressed their determination, through an insistence upon genuine collective bargaining, to not only secure action in 1966 on pension and insurance problems, but also to assure their membership the benefits of the breakthroughs being made in recent labor-management agreements on other contractual matters.

Experience has shown that in industries in which a number of unions operate, such coordination of collective bargaining is the only way large corporations can be made to face up to their responsibilities. Nowhere is a joint program and a common front more necessary than in dealing with General Electric and Westinghouse.

If either or both of these corporations are permitted to maintain substandard conditions, or flout the legal obligation to bargain collectively, they will exert a drag upon the whole field of collective bargaining. Therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** We pledge the full support and resources of the AFL-CIO to the efforts of the Committee on Collective Bargaining, representing the seven unions, to secure justice for their membership in these negotiations, and call upon all affiliated unions to join us in this pledge.

## LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS WITH FEDERAL GRANTS FOR RESEARCH

WHEREAS, Federal laws governing labor-management relations make available to workers in the private sector the advantages of union recognition and collective bargaining, and

WHEREAS, Vast amounts of federal funds are now being expended in numerous areas of research, and

WHEREAS, Workers of private firms engaged in such research have available rights of unionization and bargaining, and

WHEREAS, The federal government as an employer has recently extended to its employes the right of exclusive recognition and modified collective bargaining, and

WHEREAS, Many academic institutions, including a large number of universities, receive research grants from the federal

government with no requirement that workers be entitled to organize and have their unions serve as spokesmen with the employers; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** That this Sixth Constitutional Convention support revision of existing federal laws to make available to employes engaged in such contracts the rights of union affiliation and collective bargaining.

## **PROFESSIONAL STRIKEBREAKERS**

WHEREAS, Thirteen states and 80 cities in the United States have recognized the social and economic ills which accompany the use of professional strikebreakers by enacting legislation restricting their activities, and

WHEREAS, Professional strikebreakers interfere with the right of American workers to bargain collectively on wages and working conditions, and

WHEREAS, Legislation restricting the use of such strikebreakers is pending in several other states and municipalities, and

WHEREAS, Legal protection against these predators who feast on industrial disputes and the jobs of others is lacking precisely where it is most needed—in areas where unions are weakest and employers most hostile, and

WHEREAS, U.S. Senator Harrison A. Williams has introduced a bill (S 1781) in the Senate that would make professional strike-breaking in interstate commerce a federal crime throughout the United States; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** That the AFL-CIO Convention calls upon Congress to enact the Williams bill outlawing professional strikebreakers. The convention also calls on all affiliated unions to support the inter-union campaign for additional state and municipal legislation and to work for federal legislation by informing their representatives in Congress of their support.

## **FREE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING ON DIESEL HELPER (Fireman) ISSUE**

WHEREAS, On March 31, 1966, the compulsory arbitration ruling depriving thousands of locomotive helpers (firemen) of

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work and thousands of others their lawful seniority rights will cease to exist in accordance with the act of Congress, and

**WHEREAS,** The law which permitted railroad companies to force more than 17,000 locomotive helpers (firemen) off freight and yard locomotives, under protection of the Congress and courts, caused an accompanying and serious deterioration in railroad safety, as recorded from statistics of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and

**WHEREAS,** The long-standing dispute over employment of locomotive helpers (firemen) will again involve the collective bargaining agreement between the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen and the nation's railroads, and

**WHEREAS,** The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen has served formal notice to initiate collective bargaining on individual railroad properties and such collective bargaining has the strong support of the Senate Committee on Commerce; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That this Sixth Constitutional Convention recognizes that compulsion has not settled this issue and urges that free collective bargaining be permitted to function without undue government interference so that the parties will be able to fulfill their responsibilities and negotiate to a conclusion on the basis of the public interest, the interest of the employes and the railroad industry.

## **KINGSPORT PRESS**

WHEREAS, On March 11, 1963, after all attempts to gain contract settlements in line with industry gains had failed, and arbitration was refused by the employer, the members of five unions invoked their legal and moral right to strike the Kingsport Press, Inc., of Kingsport, Tennessee, one of the nation's largest printers servicing the publishers of school textbooks and encyclopedia, and

**WHEREAS,** After the strike began it became evident that the Kingsport Press had no intention of voluntarily settling its differences with its employes, and has since used every means available to break the strike, including inviting workers to return on an individual basis, continuing to operate the plant with scabs and strikebreakers, has resorted to the use of various legal maneuvers aimed at circumventing the rights of the strikers, and has conditioned any dispute settlement upon a recognition that

the employment rights of those hired since the strike are superior to the rights of striking employees, and

WHEREAS, Despite the best efforts of this unfair employer to break this strike, some 1,200 members of the Bookbinders, Electrotypers, Machinists, Printing Pressmen, and Typographical International Unions have continued on strike these many months in the face of extreme personal hardship, and

WHEREAS, The present substandard operation of this plant is having a depressing effect upon the wages and working conditions in an important, mainly-unionized industry, and losing this strike would be a serious blow not only to the printing industry but to all union industry in the United States and Canada and would seriously reflect against the strength and solidarity of the labor movement, and

WHEREAS, Support so far given by the AFL-CIO officers, departments, and staff, and by many affiliates of the AFL-CIO to these strikers and their unions, has helped these strikers to endure, and help given in gaining nationwide publicity of this dispute has alerted many major purchasers of books and the offending publishers to the objections and concern of organized labor to the continued circulation of scab-produced books, and

WHEREAS, Several publishers have agreed to remove their books from Kingsport, many others have substantially reduced the amount of work scheduled for Kingsport, and it is becoming apparent that all such publishers would be responsive to a full-scale boycott against Kingsport Press books; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That this convention go on record pledging continuing and added support to (1) the boycott of books being produced by scabs and strikebreakers at the Kingsport Press, (2) objections to the use of public funds to purchase school textbooks and encyclopedia produced under substandard and anti-social conditions, since such funds are obtained in large part from the tax dollars of union labor, (3) the censuring of the publishers who continue to do business with the Kingsport Press over the protestations of union labor, and (4) condemning the union-busting tactics of the Kingsport Press; and be it further

RESOLVED: That the affiliates of this body be supplied with the names and addresses of the unfair publishers and the titles of books produced at the Kingsport Press, and that affiliates be urged to take all necessary steps to fully implement this boycott and all other programs instituted to halt the purchase of these unfair books until the proper conclusion of this most important labor dispute.

## GRAPE STRIKE, DELANO, CALIFORNIA

In a sun-drenched valley of California where vineyards cover thousands of acres of seemingly-serene countryside, a bitter struggle is going on by workers fighting for the age-old right to live in decency and dignity.

Workers in the grape vineyards around Delano, California, members of the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO, have been on strike for many months against the growers who have callously exploited them year after year in a way that has made the "Grapes of Wrath" a never-ending saga of poverty for farm workers in this great, wealthy state of California.

The grape strikers are fighting courageously against tremendous odds, facing starvation, living like refugees in their own land, for the simple and basic right to organize and bargain collectively.

The arrogance, the greed, the inhumanity and economic tyranny the big growers who run the factories in the fields exercise over the farm workers is an old and sordid story that must be ended.

Organized labor must help win the grape strike and make possible the first big step in organizing farm workers in California to break the agonizing grip of exploitation and poverty they are held in by the growers. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That this convention pledges its full support and solidarity behind the struggle of the workers on strike against the growers around Delano, California, and we call upon all affiliates of the AFL-CIO to extend both moral and financial support to these workers, who have been the victims of inhuman exploitation, in order to help them win their struggle for a fuller measure of economic and social justice.

## STRIKE AGAINST RADIO STATION KPOL

WHEREAS, After many years of peaceful collective bargaining with the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists, a branch of the Associated Actors and Artistes of America, and its Los Angeles local, representing announcers and newsmen, together with the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Local 45, representing technicians, management of Radio Station KPOL has demanded by ultimatum that both unions surrender basic terms and conditions standard in the

industry, which would result in the loss of union security, union established non-contributory pension and welfare plans, right to respect picket lines, and diminishment of jobs by attack of long-established jurisdictional areas of work responsibility, and

WHEREAS, A goal of this broadcasting company has been to force these unions out of the station and to set a pattern in the broadcasting industry to invite and encourage other broadcast-employers to make the same effort for the purpose of destroying these unions in the southern California area and ultimately to foment union-busting in the communications industry nationally, and

WHEREAS, These local unions have conducted intensive and costly consumer boycott of those sponsors who continue to buy time on KPOL, and

WHEREAS, This strike has assumed proportions of national significance to the labor movement in this country, inasmuch as it is evident that the major manufacturers of consumer products, the principal buyers of time on radio, television stations and networks, together with their advertising agencies, have joined in a conspiracy to support management of Station KPOL by their renewed and continued sponsorship on this station, paralleling efforts by the open shop advocates to thwart repeal by Congress of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, and

WHEREAS, After more than eight months of strike, it is incumbent that the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations take special cognizance of this crucial labor-management dispute which is an integral part of the efforts of the fanatic extreme "right wing" movement in southern California with its seemingly unlimited financial resources, to establish California as a "right-to-work" state and to encourage the growth of that malignancy throughout our nation; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** That this convention go on record in support of AFTRA and the IBEW in their strike against Radio Station KPOL, Los Angeles, Calif., and that all state and local central labor bodies affiliated with the AFL-CIO be requested to take similar action; and be it further

**RESOLVED,** That the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO take any additional action it deems appropriate in implementing this pledge of support, including communication with sponsors and financial aid to these unions who have been on strike since April 2, 1965.

## BOYCOTT OF STITZEL-WELLER PRODUCTS

WHEREAS, More than four years have elapsed since 200 members of Local 36, affiliated with the Distillery, Rectifying, Wine and Allied Workers' International Union of America, AFL-CIO were provoked into a walkout by the callous and irresponsible posture of the management of Stitzel-Weller Company at the bargaining table, and

WHEREAS, Management of this company had never accepted the reality of trade unionism and were prepared to go to any lengths to destroy Local 36. Using the talents of a battery of attorneys to break the strike, Stitzel-Weller was successful in inspiring and forming under the direction of company representatives an inside union—or, more properly speaking, a company union—which would be amenable to the wishes of management, and

WHEREAS, Though Local 36 was forced to abandon its strike because of decisions handed down by the National Labor Relations Board, the union has initiated a campaign to inform the American public, and particularly the American trade unionists, that the bourbons produced by Stitzel-Weller are the products of strike breakers and scabs and must be boycotted. A successful campaign along these lines will surely persuade the management of Stitzel-Weller to abandon its hostility to organized labor and change its misguided course by negotiating in good faith with these innocent workers who had so faithfully served the company for so long and who still persevere in their membership in Local 36; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** We, the delegates to the 1965 Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, in convention assembled in San Francisco, California, wholeheartedly endorse the efforts of the Distillery Workers' International Union in continuing their efforts to obtain a genuine labor contract with the Stitzel-Weller Distilling Company, and be it further

**RESOLVED:** That this resolution be given the widest possible circulation by the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations with the request that all affiliates inform their respective membership of the conditions under which Old Fitzgerald, Cabin Still, Old Elk and W. L. Weller are produced and to urge their membership to refrain from purchasing or patronizing these bourbons.

# GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES' PROGRAMS

## PUBLIC EMPLOYES

Approximately 12 percent of the nation's work force of 78 million workers is now employed by various government (federal, state, local) divisions, and the Bureau of Census reports that this number—especially among the states, counties and municipalities—is increasing almost daily.

Similarly, the number of government workers belonging to labor unions is also increasing, at an astonishingly rapid pace. Teachers, federal workers, state workers, county workers, municipal workers, and other employees of school districts and of various kinds of public authorities are joining bona fide public employe unions.

The growth of these unions has contributed substantially to the increase in total membership of the organized labor movement in the United States. This growth is due to the combined efforts of the AFL-CIO and many of its affiliated organizations, including bona fide public employe unions. As a result of these endeavors, tens of thousands of public workers have been able to achieve a new kind of dignity.

Bringing unionism alone to these workers has not been and is not enough. They must be enabled to attain through the collective bargaining process the same kind of rights and prosperity which industrial and craft workers have secured. The simplest means for this end is the enactment of law which permits workers to bargain collectively and makes it compulsory for public employers to bargain with representatives chosen by the workers. This kind of law was enacted in 1965 in Michigan, Delaware, Connecticut, and improvements in other laws in other states have also been enacted by many state legislatures.

Much of the impetus for this kind of law comes from Executive Order 10988 issued by the late President John F. Kennedy; it was Mr. Kennedy's order, applicable to federal employes, which provided clearly to federal workers the right to organize and to bargain collectively with their employers. There have been similar executive orders signed in many states, school districts and other agencies at lower levels of government. De facto recognition is another device through which workers have been provided their rights; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** That the AFL-CIO and its affiliated organizations will seek to promote the right of all public employes to organize and to select their own representatives, and the right to bargain with their employers. They shall seek to accomplish these objectives through legislation, through executive order, and through administrative determination. In addition, they will also seek legislation which will allow, where prohibited, public employe unions to negotiate union security provisions.

## BENEFITS FOR FEDERAL EMPLOYES

**WHEREAS**, The assistance of the AFL-CIO has always played an important part in the achievement of the legitimate objectives of national and international unions of postal, federal, state and local employes, and

**WHEREAS**, The assistance of the AFL-CIO is necessary to the accomplishment of the legitimate goals of such unions, and

**WHEREAS**, Government employe unions with the assistance of the AFL-CIO have over the years advanced the interest of their members despite inherent handicaps resulting from the nature of their employment, and

**WHEREAS**, We believe that the federal government should set an example for private industry in establishing satisfactory working conditions and modern labor-management techniques, with wages and working conditions at least comparable to the wages and conditions which prevail in progressive private employment for people of like skills, training and education; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** That this Sixth Constitutional Convention does hereby adopt the following program of legislative and administrative relief for government employes:

### PAY

(a) Legislation providing rates of pay for classified and postal employes consistent with the principle of true comparability with appropriate private industry scales on a current basis, with adequate consideration for dramatic increases in the productivity of government workers in recent years and tenure of service.

(b) Legislation for overtime compensation at time and one half for work in excess of 8 hours per day, with a basic Monday

through Friday work week, and time and one half pay for all work performed by all federal employees on Sunday.

(c) Legislation fixing a 35-hour work week for government employees without reduction in pay.

(d) Legislation to pay employees in third class post offices at the same rate as employees in first and second class post offices for substantially similar work.

(e) Legislation to remove inequities in salary classification acts affecting classified and postal workers.

(f) Oppose legislation or administrative action authorizing a central board to fix rates of federal wage board employees. Support the principle of equal pay for equal levels of skill, with true collective bargaining between unions and federal agencies under the present wage board system and the Kiess Act (44 W.S.C. 40) pertaining to the Government Printing Office.

(g) Legislation authorizing additional pay for postal workers required to study postal schemes for distribution of mail outside normal working hours.

#### RETIREMENT

(a) Legislation permitting federal and postal employees to retire at their option after 30 years of service, regardless of age, with full benefits.

(b) Legislation to exclude civil service retirement benefits from federal income tax.

(c) Legislation to remove the current deficiency in the Civil Service Retirement Fund through additional contributions by the federal government as a means of correcting the failure of the government to meet its financial obligation in the past.

(d) Oppose merger of social security and civil service retirement systems.

(e) Increase from 55 to 60 percent the surviving beneficiary's share of the employee's pension. Eliminate the reduction in an employee's annuity when he elects benefits for his survivor.

(f) Retirement deductions on all earnings, including overtime, night differential, special allowances and other premium pay.

(g) Increase from 2 to 2½ percent the formula for computing pensions of employees engaged in hazardous jobs and extend the coverage of this type of retirement to additional hazardous occupations.

#### POLITICAL ACTIVITY

(a) Complete appraisal of the Hatch Act (5 U.S.C. 118) in the light of political developments in our nation since its enactment and the need for maximum participation by all citizens in shaping the various levels of government. Approval of legislation to establish a bi-partisan commission to undertake an intensive review of the Hatch Act.

#### AUTOMATION

(a) Legislation providing a joint and continuing union-management study of the social and economic problems resulting from mechanization, productivity and automation in federal agencies with a view towards minimizing personal hardships accruing to employees.

(b) Oppose "speed-up" programs in the Post Office Department and other government agencies, such as the Work Measurement System, Work Performance Schedules, Basic Motion and Time Studies and similar systems. Oppose the Government Printing Office practice of certain employees to meet time standards in setting type.

#### COMPENSATION FOR INJURY

(a) Support improvements in the Federal Employees' Compensation Act to increase monthly benefits and lump-sum awards for injured workers. Relating compensation increases for permanently disabled workers to wage and salary adjustments for active employees in similar occupational groups. Continuation of injured employees in an active pay status pending commencement of their compensation payments.

#### UNION-MANAGEMENT

(a) Support enactment of legislation prescribing true collective bargaining for unions of federal and postal employees, with appropriate disciplinary measures for management violations of this principle.

#### PROMOTIONS

(a) Legislation directing the development of promotion policies and impartial promotion procedures with recognition of seniority, merit and "promotion from within" as the guiding principles.

(b) Discontinuing use of Federal Service Entrance examination as a factor in promotion or occupational assignment of career Federal employees.

## **HEALTH AND WELFARE**

(a) Legislation for the federal government to defray the entire cost of health benefits and life insurance programs for active and retired employees and a limitation of 50 percent in the reduction of policies when employees reach age 65.

## **LEAVE**

(a) Legislation permitting federal employees to receive credit for all sick leave unused at the time of retirement, death or separation.

## **SAFETY**

(a) Legislation on an effective safety program in federal service, with union representation on safety committees at the national and local levels.

## **MISCELLANEOUS**

(a) Legislation prohibiting the use of military personnel in federal government jobs which can be filled effectively by civilian employees.

(b) Upward revision of job standards and levels to meet requirements for increased skills and responsibilities in postal service.

(c) Endorse restoration of curtailed postal service and improvement in postal operations to provide the most effective service possible to the American people.

(d) Oppose consolidation of the positions of firefighter and policeman and departure from the traditional pay equality between these protective services as a cause of deteriorating fire protection to communities.

(e) Urge federal and other public administrators to raise fire protection and safety standards with establishment of fire inspection bureaus in communities as a means of achieving this objective.

(f) Endorse the practice of printing in this country all United States stamps, currency and securities and continuing the use of steel intaglio printed postage stamps and printing all United States stamps and currency in the Government Printing Office and/or the Bureau of Engraving and Printing.

(g) Oppose authority for agency heads to separate employees without recourse to established civil service procedures and appeal rights. Oppose any effort to remove federal jobs from civil service coverage.

(h) Extension of uniform allowances to additional occupations.

## **OVERTIME FOR HOLIDAY PAY**

WHEREAS, Since the creation of the Master Shipbuilding Agreement the employees of private shipyards have enjoyed double time for overtime and triple time for holiday work, and this has not been the case in the government, and

WHEREAS, The government's position has been for comparable wages and conditions as prevail in private industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the American Federation and Congress of Industrial Organizations seek the enactment of legislation which would require the federal government to pay double time for all hours worked in excess of 8 hours each day, and 40 hours per week, and triple time for all holidays worked.

## **PREMIUM COMPENSATION FOR SATURDAYS, SUNDAYS AND HOLIDAYS WORKED**

WHEREAS, Many federal employees are required to work on Saturday, Sunday and holidays, and

WHEREAS, The United States government conducts surveys in private industry to determine appropriate rates of pay, and

WHEREAS, Private industry pays premium compensation for work performed on Saturday, Sunday and holidays; therefore be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO have legislation enacted in the Congress that will compensate employees with premium compensation for work performed on Saturdays, Sundays and holidays, similar to that paid employees in private industry.

## **CONTRACTING AND ASSIGNMENT OF MILITARY PERSONNEL TO CIVILIAN DUTIES**

WHEREAS, The federal government is engaged in a campaign to insure prudence in employment and procurement practices as part of the "war on waste", and this effort is essential as new programs to benefit all America are enacted and

WHEREAS, The 31 AFL-CIO unions representing nearly one million postal, classified and wage board workers in federal service, associated with the Government Employees' Council applaud this effort to achieve fiscal soundness in operating our government, and

WHEREAS, These unions are concerned that the pressure for "economy" could lead to additional attempts to reduce federal payrolls and replace career employees with uniformed military personnel, and

WHEREAS, Evidence produced by congressional sources indicates that such practices are wasteful and that millions of dollars could be saved by returning to career civil service employees work they have historically and successfully performed, and

WHEREAS, These unions recognize the necessity for the federal government to continue substantial contracts with private firms for construction, renovation, services, supplies, equipment which can best be provided by private enterprise, and

WHEREAS, These unions believe that the services of military personnel can best be utilized in those functions directly related to military matters, particularly in periods of international hostility, such as the present; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** That this Sixth Constitutional Convention declare its support of the continuation of work accomplished traditionally and successfully by career federal employees in lieu of assignment of such work to military personnel.

## **DISCONTINUANCE OF GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE TRAINEE PROGRAM**

WHEREAS, Several hundred applications by pressmen for employment in the Government Printing Office are pending and this number will increase in the years ahead because of automation, and

WHEREAS, Many bookbinders are being displaced because of the attachment of slitters, perforators, and folders to the newer presses, and

WHEREAS, New automated equipment is presently being installed that will reduce the number of journeymen in the composing craft unit, and

WHEREAS, Automation in the Preparatory Department (pho-

tography, stripping, and platemaking) is increasing in the Offset Division, and

WHEREAS, In most instances trainees are not adequately trained and constitute a burden on journeymen craftsmen, and this practice circumvents the Kiess Act limitation of 200 apprentices; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** That this Sixth Constitutional Convention reaffirms support of the Kiess Act and its limitation on the number of apprentices, and calls upon the Government Printing Office to cease its efforts to circumvent that statute.

## RAILROAD ISSUES

### RAILROAD SAFETY

WHEREAS, Injuries and fatalities from railroad accidents have been increasing at an alarming rate, reaching a total last year of 2,423 persons killed and 27,614 persons injured, and

WHEREAS, Most railroad managements continue their historic attitude of callous indifference toward all efforts by their workers to achieve safer operations and a lower accident rate, even though such accidents cost the railroads at least \$170 million a year in property damage and personal injury claims, and

WHEREAS, The federal government through the Interstate Commerce Commission exerts only very limited authority over railroad safety, in contrast to the broad authority exerted over airline and trucking safety, with the ICC at present lacking any authority whatever over unsafe train operations, over unsafe maintenance of track, structures and other facilities or over safety practices in rail yards, shops, freight houses and stations, and

WHEREAS, Even in the limited areas of railroad safety now subject to regulation, the ICC reports a sharp rise in violations by the railroads and the ICC further reports that "in many instances, noncompliance with our safety laws and regulations appears to be cheaper than compliance," owing to the completely inadequate penalties provided for such violations, and

WHEREAS, Bills have been introduced in the 89th Congress by Senator Gale McGee and Congressman John E. Moss to give the ICC broad regulatory authority over railroad safety and to double the penalties for carrier violations of the ICC safety regulations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the human toll of death and maiming from railroad accidents has reached an intolerable level for a civilized country, as regards the safety of both the general public and the railroad employes, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention pledges the full support of the AFL-CIO for legislation designed to reduce this accident toll, such as the McGee-Moss bills or other similar measures in the field of railroad safety.

### RAILWAY LABOR ACT AMENDMENTS

WHEREAS, The Railway Labor Act provides that when "minor disputes" (grievances) cannot be settled between railway labor and management, they shall be referred for settlement to the National Railroad Adjustment Board, and

WHEREAS, Since the courts have ruled that employes may not strike over these cases, this has become a form of compulsory arbitration, and

WHEREAS, Owing to delaying tactics and inaction, the backlog of grievance cases pending before the NRAB has risen in recent years to alarming heights, so that railroad employes now wait as long as 10 or 11 years to get a decision on their grievance claims, by which time many of them are either dead or re-tired, and

WHEREAS, To cite one example, the NRAB's first division, covering railroad "operating" employes, now has over 4,000 cases pending before it, while this division in the year 1964 decided a total of 128 cases, and

WHEREAS, A bill, HR 706, reported out unanimously in 1965 by the House of Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, would go far toward ending this unfair situation by providing that special boards of adjustment may be created to clean up the backlog of grievance cases between a union and a railroad whenever either side so requests, and

WHEREAS, The Railway Labor Act also provides that NRAB decisions shall be final and binding "except insofar as they shall contain a money award," and

WHEREAS, This means if the employe loses his grievance claim before the NRAB he has no further recourse, but if he wins his claim the railroad can obtain judicial review by refusing to pay the money award, whereupon the employe must bring an enforcement action in a federal court at great expense and with long further delays, and

WHEREAS, HR 706 would also end this one-sided and unjust situation by providing that all NRAB and special board of adjustment decisions shall be final and binding, with certain limited and proper exceptions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: that the AFL-CIO strongly supports the prompt enactment by Congress of HR 706 so as to end the present gross injustices in processing of grievance claims in the railroad industry.

## RAILROAD PASSENGER SERVICE

WHEREAS, With our increasing population, the increasing size of our great metropolitan areas and the increasing congestion of highways and airways, a "Great Society" can never be achieved in America with out a growing supply of fast, safe, comfortable, convenient and reasonable priced railroad passenger service, for both intercity and commuter travel, and

WHEREAS, The nation's railroads, instead of improving their passenger service, have abandoned many hundreds of trains in recent years and in many cases they operate their remaining passenger trains in a shocking state of disrepair and filth, in flagrant disregard of their obligations as a public service industry, and

WHEREAS, Sec. 13a(1) of the Interstate Commerce Act, enacted in 1958, has enabled the railroads to abandon passenger trains practically at will, upon application to the Interstate Commerce Commission, and

WHEREAS, The present Interstate Commerce Act, lacking as it does any safeguards to protect the quality of passenger train service, serves as an inducement to railroad management to downgrade the service, drive away passengers and then use this as an excuse for abandoning service, and

WHEREAS, On the other hand, federal action under the Mass Transit Act of 1964 and the High-Speed Ground Transportation Act of 1965 finally offers a ray of light and hope toward reversing the recent trend and moving toward the kind of railroad commuter and intercity service that the nation needs; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports legislation amending the Interstate Commerce Act to restore safeguards to the

public interest in passenger train abandonment cases, along the lines of HR 7102 by Congressman Harris McDowell in the 89th Congress; and be it further

RESOLVED: The AFL-CIO hails passage of the Mass Transit Act and the High-Speed Ground Transportation Act, with safeguards for affected workers, and we urge an expansion of this positive approach toward America's railroad passenger service needs.

## RAILROAD EMPLOYES' PENSION

WHEREAS, Pension and other benefits of retired railroad employes are lagging far behind those in other major industries where non-contributory supplemental pension programs have now become an accepted fact of industrial life, and

WHEREAS, Such non-contributory supplemental pensions are now enjoyed by many supervisory employes in the railroad industry but pensions of this kind are denied to all but a handful of the unionized employes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports appropriate amendments to the Railroad Retirement Act to eliminate this discrimination against organized railroad employes by providing increased annuities and other improvements financed by additional taxes to be borne by the railroad industry.

## RAILROAD MERGERS

WHEREAS, For nearly a decade, the nation's railroads have been engaged in one of the most widespread movements in history toward increased monopoly ownership through mergers, and

WHEREAS, Unlike past consolidations which sought to build stronger railroads, most of the railroad combinations now proposed seek to shrink railroad plant, equipment and services to the public, and

WHEREAS, All serious projections of America's economic growth forecast an immense increase in the demand for trans-

portation, including railroad transportation, over the remaining decades of this century, and

WHEREAS, The demands upon the nation's railroad plant would be even more severe in case international events should require a general mobilization, and

WHEREAS, Railroad tracks and facilities, once abandoned and destroyed through a merger, can only be rebuilt at very heavy cost, and

WHEREAS, The alleged financial distress advanced by major railroads as an excuse for their merger schemes has already been disproved by the soaring profits of these same railroads, and

WHEREAS, The Interstate Commerce Commission and its examiners, despite all these facts and despite widespread public protests, including protests by the U.S. Department of Justice, have proceeded to approve one railroad merger plan after another, and

WHEREAS, The present law setting forth the nation's policy on railroad mergers was enacted 25 years ago when our nation was in the midst of a depression and this law fails to take account of the needs of a growth economy for more, not less, transportation facilities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges Congress to create a committee to make a thorough investigation of the railroad merger situation and to recommend more adequate standards for protection of the public interest in railroad merger cases, together with a temporary halt in the ICC's authority to approve railroad mergers pending the report of such committee of Congress.

## NATIONAL TRANSPORTATION POLICY

WHEREAS, America is virtually the only one of the democratic nations which lacks a national transportation policy, and

WHEREAS, We have today, instead, a chaotic transportation system with multitudinous government agencies establishing and administering policies that often move in conflicting directions, each viewing its special area of transportation as the one which should be placed above all others and none looking at the total transportation needs of the nation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That this convention urges the President and Congress to develop a national transportation policy based on the following principles, among others:

- a. The policy should be administered by one federal agency at the Cabinet or sub-Cabinet level.
- b. Such a department would help formulate programs, would administer existing policies and would guide and coordinate the regulatory agencies toward a more uniform policy in the field of transportation.
- c. Congress should revise existing laws to make certain that all government bodies dealing with transportation give paramount importance in making decisions to such factors as the effect upon the economic welfare of communities involved, social costs, competition, employment, and service to shippers and the public in general

## RAILROAD FINANCES

WHEREAS, Important public decisions affecting railroad rates, taxation, public aid, mergers, service and other matters are based in substantial part on statements by railroad management about their companies' financial situation, and

WHEREAS, Repeated statements in recent years by railroad spokesmen that their industry is heading toward bankruptcy have created great confusion in the public mind, since these same railroads have been reporting to their stockholders ever-rising profits, and

WHEREAS, Public policy has long and rightly required full public disclosure of the ownership of the railroad industry but this policy has been frustrated by the widespread practice of listing railroad stock ownership as anonymous accounts in Swiss banks and under so-called "street" names, and

WHEREAS, The true financial situation of the railroads is further confused and obscured by complex, dubious and differing railroad accounting procedures prescribed by government agencies, and

WHEREAS, Accurate facts about the finances of this major public service industry are vitally needed in order to shape proper public policies and public understanding; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** That the AFL-CIO asks Congress to undertake a thorough and complete investigation of railroad corporation finances, bookkeeping procedures, ownership and control; and be it further

**RESOLVED:** That the AFL-CIO urges that independent outside accountants be retained jointly by the Internal Revenue Service and the Interstate Commerce Commission to study railroad accounting procedures for tax and regulatory purposes, together with their effect on reported railroad profits, in order that these procedures and statements be brought into line with accounting practices in other industries.

## **MARITIME ISSUES**

### **AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE AND MARITIME POLICY**

WHEREAS, The Merchant Marine Act of 1936 sets forth the intent of Congress that the United States shall have an American-flag merchant fleet capable of carrying a substantial portion of our waterborne commerce and of serving as a naval or military auxiliary in time of war or national emergency.

WHEREAS, Despite the intent of the 1936 Act, our American-flag merchant marine has continued to decline in terms of the number of ships, in terms of the percentage of our cargoes carried by these vessels, and in terms of job opportunities for merchant seamen, shipbuilders and other workers in the maritime industry. As a result, the American merchant marine today cannot meet the criteria of the Merchant Marine Act; it is not adequate to fulfill its responsibilities as an arm of our national defense, a factor in our economy or as a productive symbol of America's position of world leadership.

WHEREAS, This is being most strikingly demonstrated in the current Viet Nam emergency in which, as a result of increased shipping needs, our government has turned to foreign flag ships, not only to fulfill its commercial commitments, but to carry military cargoes as well.

WHEREAS, The decline of the American flag fleet has taken place largely because the executive departments and agencies of the federal government have failed to implement the congressional mandate set forth in the 1936 act, and because budgetary expediencies, rather than national need, have been allowed to dominate maritime programs.

WHEREAS, The Soviet Union meanwhile—recognizing the importance of a strong merchant marine to its economic, political and strategic objectives—has been moving rapidly to control the oceans and trade routes of the world, and within a few years is expected to surpass the United States as a maritime power in all areas—passenger liners, freighters, dry bulk carriers and tankers.

WHEREAS, To meet this crisis in U. S. maritime, and to assure that this nation will have an adequate merchant marine, the

President's Maritime Advisory Committee—consisting of representatives of labor, management and the public—has proposed a significant expansion of our merchant marine. Meanwhile, however, a so-called Interagency Maritime Task Force report, prepared by representatives of the same federal departments and agencies which have been largely responsible for the decline of our fleet is being circulated.

WHEREAS, The Task Force Report outlines a program which is based primarily on budgetary considerations, calls for a restriction of our merchant marine, and the elimination of major existing safeguards of American flag shipping and shipbuilding. Proponents of the report have given strong evidence that they will attempt to have their views adopted by the President and the Congress as the new national maritime program which the President has indicated he will announce, probably some time early next year.

RESOLVED, the AFL-CIO reaffirms its support of a strong U. S. flag merchant marine, citizen-owned, citizen-manned and American-built, adequate to the needs of our country in peace and in defense emergencies and, therefore:

1. Endorses the report of the President's Maritime Advisory Committee, calling for a significant expansion of the American flag merchant fleet.
2. Condemns the report of the Interagency Maritime Task Force as dictated only by shortsighted budgetary considerations and inadequate to the national need.
3. Calls for a congressional investigation to determine the actual state of readiness of the U. S. naval and merchant fleets.
4. Calls for continued efforts to alert Congress to the Soviet maritime menace and to obtain revitalization of the American-flag fleet as rapidly as possible to meet this threat.
5. Calls upon the State Department to re-evaluate its position and support legislation to bar from U. S. commerce foreign-flag vessels which have been trading with North Viet Nam.
6. Calls upon the President and the Congress to resist and reject pressures to eliminate the requirements that at least 50 percent of the wheat and other grains sold to the Soviet nations be carried in American-flag ships and to assure strict enforcement of all cargo preference requirements.
7. Calls upon the President and the Congress to reject any "built abroad" philosophy regarding the building of American-

flag merchant vessels and to preserve and strengthen regulations designed to safeguard American-flag, American-built shipping.

8. Supports a naval construction program in U.S. shipyards to assure our continued superiority as the world's leading naval power.
9. Calls on Congress to extend the jurisdiction of the NLRB to cover the crews of run-away flag vessels in American Commerce.
10. Calls for continued efforts to alert Congress and the public to the need for protecting the passengers and crews from hazardous conditions on run-away flagships, such as existed on the ill-fated Yarmouth Castle and to enact pending legislation to reserve crews operations out of U.S. ports to American flag vessels, unless unavailable, and to regulate any participation of foreign flag vessels in these trades by requiring them to comply with U.S. safety standards.
11. Calls upon Congress and the appropriate federal departments and agencies to enact and implement such measures as will restore the domestic merchant fleet, including those vessels in the coastwise and intercoastal trades, on the Great Lakes, and on our rivers and inland waterways and reaffirm our opposition to any attempt to destroy the protection afforded to domestic shipping by the Jones Act.
12. Supports legislation presently pending in Congress to protect our fishing industry, by extending our present territorial limits from the present three miles to twelve miles.
13. Urges the government to exert its efforts to bring about early ratification by such nations as are necessary to put into full force and effect the Convention on Fishing and Conserving the Living Resources of the High Seas, as adopted by the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, held at Geneva, Switzerland, February 4, to April 27, 1958.
14. Calls for introduction in Congress of legislation to increase U. S. carriage of our waterborne foreign commerce to the level called for by the Maritime Advisory Committee and support the building in U. S. yards of an adequate number of vessels to achieve this purpose.
15. Affirms our opposition to runaway flag operations and calls for the complete scrapping of the so-called "effective control" concept, and any policies placing reliance on foreign flag ships for the vessel strength essential to U. S. defense and economic requirements.

16. Supports moves to re-establish the Maritime Administration as an independent agency, outside of the Department of Commerce, and to centralize the administration of the cargo preference laws in the Maritime Administration.

17. Supports members of Congress who favor a stronger merchant marine and calls upon the Committee on Political Education of the AFL-CIO to cooperate in this endeavor by including votes on maritime issues in their standards for determining support or opposition to Congressional candidates, and to urge the cooperation of local, central, and state bodies, as well as the various AFL-CIO departments, in order to achieve this objective.

## SHIPBUILDING AND REPAIR

WHEREAS, Work hunger and famine still stalked the private shipyard industry in the United States during the past two years. Shipyards clanged their gates shut. Private shipyard facilities were 58 percent idle in 1965. The chronic insufficient work volume was not substantially offset by emerging constructive factors which promise in a small way to remedy this depressed industry, and

WHEREAS, With some 900 privately-owned merchant ships in active service and with the total progressively declining each year, approximately 70 percent at the beginning of this year were 19 to 23 years old and required replacement within the next 24 to 36 months, and

WHEREAS, While bloc obsolescence was staring the nation in the face—including 491 dry cargo ships, 170 tankers and the balance in passenger tonnage ready for scrapping—the government was still making studies, more conferences were being called and held. The highly-touted fleet replacement program was continuing to inch along at a snail's pace, and

WHEREAS, Over the past two years a total of only eight non-subsidized ships were ordered, underlining the fact that the nation's private shipyard industry is virtually dependent upon the volume of U.S. Navy and U.S. flag merchant marine work. U.S. yards have not had an export contract in well over four years. Few foreign shippers utilize American shipyards for construction or repair except in emergencies, and

WHEREAS, Congress authorized in 1951 construction subsidies for shipowners engaged in bulk transportation—which constitutes carriages of almost 80 percent of the nation's imports

and exports—the Maritime Administration has failed to authorize a single subsidy for such building, and

WHEREAS, The U.S. private ship repair yards are now operating at less than 10 percent of their wartime employment capacity; all yards are operating at about 1 percent. Navy yards, on the other hand, are operating close to peak wartime capacity, with nearly 70 percent of ship construction being performed in the private yards, and

WHEREAS, Bloc obsolescence is rapidly overtaking our naval fleet. In fiscal 1963 the Navy received appropriations permitting construction of 37 new ships. Thirty-six ships were built in fiscal 1962. Programs for prior years, however, rarely exceeded 20 ships annually, and

WHEREAS, The Administration's defense budget for fiscal 1965 covered 53 new ships and modernization and/or conversion of seven existing vessels. This is a far cry from the recommendations of a House Armed Services Subcommittee report, which advocated in 1962 sufficient funds to permit construction of 70 new ships a year between fiscal years 1963 and 1970 to remedy the bloc obsolescence of the naval fleet. The figures revealed that 600 of the 860 ships in the fleet were of World War II vintage and imperilled the security of the nation. The recommendation has largely been ignored by the Congress in its 1963 program of 37 new ships and its provision for only 31 new vessels in fiscal 1964, and

WHEREAS, Assistance to ship construction and shipping is not new, but has been granted by seafaring nations, in one form or another, for centuries as an encouragement to their maritime industries, and

WHEREAS, Since the end of World War II, the United States has been directly instrumental in building up an excess world shipbuilding and repair capacity. U.S. aid funds since 1948 to the extent of \$600 million have been spent to build up and support shipyards in foreign countries. The amount of dollar assistance given also to foreign steel plants and other metal-working plants which play a vital role in shipbuilding brings the total to nearly \$1 billion, and

WHEREAS, The keenest competitors of U.S. shipyards are, in the main, the very countries which have been given the impetus of American foreign aid for new and modern shipbuilding facilities. Some of the taxes generated by the American private shipyards and shipyard workers made available some of the foreign aid which found its way to the European shipyards, and

WHEREAS, the U.S. Department of Agriculture has persisted in sniping at the American merchant marine, encouraging bypassing of use of American-flag ships in favor of low-cost foreign shipping, and in effect urging that the 50-50 preference law for carriage of government-financed aid cargoes be nullified, and

WHEREAS, The Agency for International Development has subverted the Cargo Preference Laws by eliminating from its computations cargoes which move from one foreign port to another. Such movements are rather large, and the result is that American ships are deprived of a considerable amount of trade which is legally and rightfully theirs. Other federal agencies have taken similarly defiant attitudes, refusing to be bound by the clearcut instructions of Congress; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That this convention calls upon the Congress to:

1. Extend ship construction subsidies to maintain a building program of 60 ocean-going merchant vessels yearly, to wipe out bloc obsolescence and replace the rust-bucket fleet with fast, modern, competitive vessels, to halt shipyard closings, to alleviate shipyard joblessness and stem the tide of increasing migration of our skilled shipyard labor force which, if permitted to continue, will leave the United States paralyzed in the event of a national emergency, and to restore the U.S. to its rightful place in the ranks of the world's sea powers.

2. In order to overcome the alarming bloc obsolescence of the naval fleet and to utilize existing and future technological improvements in weaponry, electronics, and speed, as well as to achieve a better balanced, more versatile and flexible naval fleet to meet Soviet Russia's burgeoning drive for naval supremacy of the seas: immediately enact and effectuate a program in accordance with the recommendations of Congress' own special subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee to build at least 70 new fleet ships each year for at least the next six years and, necessarily, for the next ten years, and, further, to utilize the 58 percent idle capacity of the nation's private shipyards so as to revive dormant and deteriorating skills and provide employment for the shipyard jobless.

3. Adopt legislation for crucially necessary construction subsidies to domestic ship operators to revive the domestic shipping industry and to generate more ship repair work in the nation's private shipyards.

4. Continue to give all-out support for allocation of the private shipyards of at least 35 percent of the dollar volume of naval

ship appropriations for repair, overhaul, conversion and alteration work.

5. Rewrite its foreign aid programs so that the recipients of U.S. aid grants and other assistance would be required to utilize American shipyards to fulfill their shipbuilding needs.

6. Enact legislation compelling transportation of all government aid cargoes in American flag ships, to build our dollar balance, prevent further drain on our gold reserves and reverse the deficit trend of our balance of payments, bolster our tramp fleet, and stop maladministration of the 50-50 Cargo Preference Law.

7. Adopt the necessary machinery and procedures to control the export of American capital for ship construction abroad, to the end that the victimization of our ship industry and our ship workers through operation of American capital abroad may cease and a revival of the industry and full employment for its workers may come about.

8. Grant government subsidies of low-interest loans, accelerated depreciation schedules, more rapidly drastic tax depreciation schedules, and faster trade-ins for all American flag vessels, and provide long-term direct government financing for conversion work on all trade-ins.

9. Scrap the entire rust-bucket reserve fleet and place in ready condition only those ships that are economically and technologically suitable for utilization.

10. Ban outright the procurement abroad of the U.S. Navy, the Department of Defense, and any other government agency, of vessels of any size, and/or any major components of vessels, and provide that in the event such procurement is deemed necessary by any such agency, such agency shall be constrained to apply to the Congress for specific permissive legislation in each such instance.

11. Formulate and implement without any further delay a vigorous construction program for the revitalizing and augmenting of the American passenger fleet for the objectives of both peacetime commerce and national emergency. We decry the fact that not a single passenger vessel is being built in any American shipyard, and that, despite specific authorization given by Congress more than five years ago, the S.S. America is not being replaced.

## MILITARY SEA TRANSPORTATION SERVICE

WHEREAS, There is a need to give Military Sea Transport Union personnel sailing government vessels real equality with seamen generally, and particularly with American seamen working under collective bargaining agreements with private shipping operators, and

WHEREAS, Military Sea Transportation Service personnel have been unjustifiably denied real equality with such seamen employed by the private sector of the American merchant marine, and

WHEREAS, This denial of liberty and parity is contrary to the provisions of applicable federal law, and

WHEREAS, The Military Sea Transport Union of the Seafarers International Union of North America, representing more than three thousand Military Sea Transportation Service unlicensed personnel, executive stewards, and maritime personnel have for this reason, and without fault been unable to provide maximum representation of such personnel, and

WHEREAS, The Military Sea Transportation Service, Pacific Area, an arm of the Department of the Navy operating United States naval ships in this country, has failed to perform its statutory obligation of making the wages, working conditions, and fringe benefits of the Military Sea Transport Union unlicensed personnel, executive stewards, and maritime workers equivalent to seamen employed in the private sector of the American merchant marine by its failure to properly enforce and interpret applicable federal statutes, and

WHEREAS, Military Sea Transportation Service unlicensed personnel, executive stewards, and maritime workers are legally and morally entitled to the self-same benefits being provided to other groups of American unlicensed seamen, covered under collective bargaining agreements; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the rules and regulations of the Military Sea Transportation Service, legally known as the Civilian Marine Personnel Instructions (CMPI) be revised to conform to the provisions of the collective bargaining agreements of the Pacific District—Seafarers International Union—unlicensed unions and the Pacific Maritime Association, and be it further

RESOLVED: This convention urges the President of the United States to amend Executive Order 10988, by amending Section 6(b) of such order to read as follows: When an employe organization has been recognized as the exclusive representative

of employes of an appropriate unit, it shall be entitled to act for, and to negotiate agreements covering all employes in the unit, and shall be responsible for representing the interests of all such employes without discrimination. All such employes represented shall become members of such exclusive representative within a period of 31 days after execution of a collective bargaining agreement or within 31 days of hire. Such employe organization shall be given the opportunity . . ." and be it further

RESOLVED: That the federal legislation which denies parity and equality to Military Sea Transportation Service unlicensed personnel, executive stewards, and maritime workers contrary to the congressional mandate and policy enunciated in Section 202(8) of the Classification Act of 1949, as amended, be brought into line with that mandate and policy so as to provide, among other things the equivalent vacation, sick pay, union security, health and pension benefits, as set forth in bills HR 6551, HR 3001 and HR 3002, introduced by Rep. Morrison of Louisiana during the 89th Congress, and referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, and be it further

RESOLVED: This convention of the AFL-CIO gives its whole-hearted support to such basic revision of the CMPI, such amendment to the Executive Order 10988, and to such basic statutory changes, and urges the 89th Congress in its second session and the involved government agencies to forthwith act in this regard.

## ACTIONS AFFECTING AFFILIATES

### GEORGE MEANY

As this convention rounds out a full decade of AFL-CIO unity, we can look back upon the past with pride and toward the future with confidence. The AFL-CIO has never been stronger and more united than it is today; and there is not the slightest reason to doubt that its strength and unity will wax still stronger in the years ahead.

Many leaders, at all levels of the labor movement, have contributed to this achievement. But it is universally recognized, in the AFL-CIO and in the nation, that the greatest contribution—immeasurable in its influence and indispensable to our success—has been the courageous and determined leadership of the president of the AFL-CIO, George Meany. Therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That this Sixth Biennial Convention of the AFL-CIO, on behalf of the workers represented here and of all workers in America, expresses to George Meany our deepest appreciation for his outstanding service to the cause of labor and all mankind at home and throughout the free world.

### STATE AND LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES

WHEREAS, The Fourth Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO adopted a resolution that "all affiliated national and international unions are strongly urged to cooperate fully with the efforts of the AFL-CIO to bring about complete affiliation of all local unions with appropriate state and local central bodies and to take such action as may be needed to mandate their respective local unions to affiliate and to pay per capita tax on their full membership so that the total strength of the AFL-CIO may be mobilized for the important tasks that lie ahead" and

WHEREAS, Despite the aforementioned resolution, affiliation with state and local central bodies has not increased to any significant extent, and

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO and its affiliates have and will continue to be in the forefront in developing national and international political, economic, and social programs to meet the needs of all citizens everywhere, and

WHEREAS, Such national and international political, economic, and social programs will necessarily and to an ever-increasing degree cut across the boundary lines of all cities and states, thereby requiring state and local central bodies to expand their local activities and programs on all these fronts of concern to the entire trade union movement, and

WHEREAS, Such state and local central bodies must continue to be the vital links which bind the labor movement in the state and local communities, and

WHEREAS, President Meany in his keynote address to this convention rightfully and properly stated that "far too many local unions stand apart from their brothers at the state and local level and do not bear their share of labor's efforts to make the American community a better place for all to live and work," and that "in the future, these central bodies must play a growing role in the work of the American labor movement"; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**: That this Sixth Constitutional Convention reaffirms the resolution adopted four years ago which strongly urged all national and international unions to bring about complete and full affiliation by all of their local unions, and be it

**RESOLVED**: That this Sixth Constitutional Convention go on record to also strongly urge each national and international union to immediately develop programs to implement this policy of complete and full affiliation, and be it

**RESOLVED**: As one of the first means of developing such a program of implementation, that each national and international union appoint a responsible official to its union to work with the AFL-CIO Coordinator of State and Local Central Bodies in order that this department can assist in bringing about complete and full affiliation.

### UNION LABEL RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, The labor movement has undergone vast changes during the lifetime of many who are still active union members.

Our progress and prestige have grown by leaps and bounds throughout the years.

Labor's range of activities now embraces every phase of American life and touches upon the security and well being of all our citizens—union and non-union alike.

With labor's remarkable growth has come a parallel growth in our responsibilities.

Today we have acquired the role of being the "people's lobby," the voice of the public interest in many matters.

It is the labor movement that leads the great campaigns for social progress, such as medicare; that battles for morality and justice, as in the case of civil rights; that carries forward on many fronts the war against poverty, unemployment and human indignity.

Yes, organized labor is stronger, better organized and a more potent factor in the progress and perpetuation of our nation's ideals and standards than ever before in history.

Yet, on the other hand, so are the enemies of organized labor stronger today than ever before, more determined to destroy the gains made by American workers banded together in their trade unions, more cunning in their tactics and strategy.

The union working men and women of our nation still suffer the burden of unjust and discriminatory laws such as Landrum-Griffin and the so-called "right-to-work" laws. Our enemies continue in their constant endeavor to shackle our trade unions with oppressive and repressive legislation and countless anti-union employers use the processes of the courts in their attempts to stave off and delay the day when they must pay their employes just wages and furnish decent conditions through a union contract.

In these days of great progress and yet great trials and resistance to decency and justice, organized labor must make full use of every strength and every weapon at its command. Obviously, the first weapon on the list is organizing.

High on the list of these most powerful weapons of the trade union movement are our traditional symbols of highest quality, good labor-management relations and social and economic justice—the Union Label, Shop Card, Store Card and Service Button. Properly used and effectively supported these hallmarks of unionism serve to reward the fair employer and merchandiser and to punish the unfair and anti-union employer.

Used as a positive weapon to promote and publicize fair products and services and employed in consumer boycotts against those which are unfair, the Union Label, Shop Card, Store Card and Service Button reserve and merit the patronage of all consumers in our land, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** That the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, in convention assembled, urge all its affiliated national and international unions to increase and expand all their activities which are designed to impress upon their members the importance of looking for the Union Label when they buy and demanding the Shop Card, Store Card and Service Button when they spend.

## **PARTICIPATION IN UNION-INDUSTRIES SHOW**

**WHEREAS**, The Union-Industries Show, sponsored and produced annually by the AFL-CIO Union Label and Service Trades Department, is organized labor's finest example of the harmonious relations that exist between AFL-CIO unions and fair employers, and

**WHEREAS**, This exhibition furnishes graphic proof of the many benefits which these harmonious relations bring to employer and employee as well as to the general public, and

**WHEREAS**, These Union-Industries shows have continued each year to grow in size and quality and have received more and more favorable public acclaim, and

**WHEREAS**, Participation in this all-union display of AFL-CIO craftsmanship and service is limited to AFL-CIO national and international unions or their local unions and to the employers whom they invite, and

**WHEREAS**, Benefits which accrue from participation in this annual event are enjoyed by all AFL-CIO members, their families and friends; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** That each national and international union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations be encouraged to make every reasonable effort to take part in the 1966 AFL-CIO Union-Industries Show, scheduled for April 29 through May 4, at the Fifth Regiment Armory, Baltimore, Maryland; and be it further

**RESOLVED:** That each national and international union be urged to invite their fair employers to participate in the 1966 show.

## UNION LABEL WEEK

WHEREAS, The Union Label and Service Trades Department maintains a constant year-round program to impress upon all AFL-CIO members and their families and friends the importance of demanding union label products and patronizing union services, and

WHEREAS, The high point in each year's promotional campaign has been the observance of Union Label Week, and

WHEREAS, This observance has each year become more national in scope and more effective at the local level; and

WHEREAS, This year's Union Label Week celebration, September 6-12, was endorsed by President Meany and Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler of the parent AFL-CIO and officially proclaimed by more governors and mayors than heretofore, and was the most successful Union Label Week thus far, and

WHEREAS, The Union Label and Service Trades Department, in convention assembled, officially set aside the period September 5-11, 1966, and September 4-10, 1967, as Union Label Week; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, in convention assembled, also officially designate the period September 5-11, 1966, and September 4-10, 1967, as Union Label Week for those respective years.

## DUTIES OF FCC

WHEREAS, The FCC has been established to execute the basic public policy that our precious national asset of the air-waves be utilized for the "public convenience, interest and necessity," and

WHEREAS, Radio and TV licenses have for many years subverted the purpose of a most generous public gift by regarding their venal pursuit of profit as the sole expression of "public convenience, interest and necessity," and

WHEREAS, Everyone, including the FCC, recognized that such "publicity convenience, interest and necessity" clearly includes the development and use of local, live musical and other artistic talent, and

WHEREAS, The licensees' callous disregard of their plain

public duty to employ such talent, though fully known to the FCC, has been encouraged by the FCC's conspicuous failure to prevent or punish it; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That this convention protest and censure the FCC for tolerating and encouraging the broadcasting industries' failure to meet its public debt and to perform its public duty, and be it further

RESOLVED: That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, to the appropriate committees of the Congress, and to the members of the FCC, with a request that they propose and enact legislation requiring the FCC to mandate that an appropriate portion of each broadcast week be devoted to the development of local, live musical and other artistic talent.

## USE OF PROFESSIONAL ENTERTAINERS

WHEREAS, It has been traditional, as an act of labor solidarity, for members of affiliated unions of the AFL-CIO, as well as organizations within the AFL-CIO, to utilize only the services of individuals who are working under collective bargaining agreements with the appropriate unions and under fair labor conditions, and

WHEREAS, Many members of organized labor, and organizations within the AFL-CIO have, from time to time, the need for the services of entertainers, performers, musicians, concert artists and technicians, and

WHEREAS, There may be occasions when members of organized labor and organizations affiliated with the AFL-CIO do not engage performers and musicians who are members of the Associated Actors and Artistes of America, or the American Federation of Musicians, or technicians who are members of one of the unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO, and

WHEREAS, Such actions tend to undermine the standards and conditions achieved by organized labor in the entertainment field and diminish the employment opportunities of the union members in this field; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That this convention goes on record as urging all members of organized labor and affiliated unions to engage

only professional entertainers, performers, musicians and technicians and other amusement trades, and be it further

RESOLVED: That international, national, state and local bodies are requested to advise their affiliated organizations and locals of the adoption of this resolution and to urge its implementation by all of their members and affiliates.